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CEMA Planning Organs Hold Meeting in Sofia

Bulgaria's Ovcharov Made Chairman

AU221049 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 22 Mar 88

[Text] Today the CEMA Committee on Cooperation in Planning Activity began its 41st session in Sofia. Taking part are leaders of the central planning organs of the CEMA member countries and the SFRY; the deputy chairman of the International Investments Bank; and the deputy secretary of CEMA.

Stoyan Ovcharov, minister of the economy and planning of Bulgaria, was elected chairman of the CEMA Committee on Cooperation in Planning Activity.

In accordance with the agreements reached at the economic summit conference of the CEMA member countries in 1984 and the working meeting of the leaders of fraternal communist and workers parties, and with the decisions of the 43d extraordinary CEMA session, the meeting will discuss a collective concept for further developing the international socialist division of labor during the 1991-2005 period.

The meeting will also examine special and comprehensive programs for multilateral cooperation between the European CEMA member countries and the SRV, the Republic of Cuba, and the Mongolian Peopie's Republic, as well as other issues relating to expanding and deepening the cooperation in planning activity.

Warsaw TV Reports Meeting

LD222337 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 22 Mar 88

[Text] The planned division of labor among the socialist countries from 1991 to 2005 is being discussed in Sofia by the heads of the planning bodies of the CEMA states. Poland is represented by Zdzislaw Sadowski. The participants in the meeting are also discussing the program of cooperation with Vietnam, Cuba, and Mongolia.

Zhivkov Receives Participants

AU231505 Sofia BTA in English 1439 GMT 23 Mar 88

[Text] Sofia, March 23 (BTA)—Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council, received the heads of the central planning agencies of the CMEA member countries and of Yugoslavia, who attend the 41st session of the CMEA Committee on Cooperation in the Field of Planning.

He briefed the guests on the processes of restructuring underway in Bulgaria in keeping with the resolutions of the July 1987 and the November 1987 Plenums of the CC of the BCP and of the BCP National Conference held this year. Special attention was devoted to the new tasks which Bulgaria fulfills in connection with her participation in the international socialist division of labor.

Mr Todor Zhivkov was briefed on the progress of work on the reorganization of the CMEA and its bodies and on the restructuring of its planning functions.

The meeting was held in a businesslike and cordial atmosphere.

Session Ends; Document Adopted

AU240814 Sofia BTA in English 0736 GMT 24 Mar 88

[Text] Sofia, March 24 (BTA)—For the first time the CMEA countries adopted a document which goes into the 21st century. This document is a basis for coordinating economic policy and it will assist the dynamic and harmonious development of the economies of the CMEA member states and intensification on the basis of stepping up scientific and technological progress.

These are words of the new chairman of the CMEA Committee for Cooperation in Planning, Mr Stoyan Ovcharov, minister of economy and planning of Bulgaria, at the final meeting of the 41st session of the committee. He refers to a draft for a joint concept on international socialist division of labour of the CMEA member states in the 1991-2005 period which was presented to the Executive Committee of the organization.

The session, which was attended by the leaders of the central planning bodies of the CMEA member states and Yugoslavia, reviewed and presented to the Executive Committee a programme for coordinating the national economic plans for the 1991-1995 period, a list of multilaterally coordinated spheres of economic cooperation up to the year 2005 in mechanical engineering, radiotechnology and the electronic and the chemical industries, and drafts of special comprehensive programmes for multilateral cooperation of the European CMEA member states with Vietnam, Cuba and Mongolia. The session also discussed a number of other issues related to improving cooperation in planning.

The opinion of the leaders of the central planning bodies of the CMEA member states is that the new documents are creating conditions for proceeding to a new stage of cooperation in planning.

Alia Addresses Vlore AWP Committee

AU231506 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 22 Mar 88

[Speech by Ramiz Alia, AWP Central Committee first secretary, to the Vlore District AWP Committee plenum on 22 March—recorded]

[Text] Dear comrades, the problem being discussed at this plenum is topical both for your district and for the country as a whole. The tasks concerning the rapid development of the economy and culture require increased efficiency in management activity. Before talking about the questions discussed at this meeting, I would like to convey to you the greetings of the AWP Central Committee and best wishes for new successes during this vital year of the current 5-Year Plan, which is also the year of Comrade Enver Hoxha's 80th birthday.

The party cadre policy has always been a dynamic one. It has met the requirements of the country's socioeconomic development from one stage of socialist construction to the next. New stress was placed on the tasks of cadres and the intelligentsia at the fifth AWP Central Committee plenum, which was held at the beginning of the current month. Our independent development is based on our natural and financial resources, but also on the country's intellectual potential. In the process of the country's socialist construction, the party and Comrade Enver have trained an entire army of cadres and specialists, who are playing a decisive role in organizing work, in managing and administering the country's entire life. Cadres are the golden asset of society, one of the main pillars of our independent development. They are imbued with the party's ideology and Comrade Enver's works, and are equipped with profound professional knowledge.

At national level we currently have about 70,000 people with higher education, in all spheres of social activity. In your district alone, as was stressed in the report, there are about 4,000 higher cadres. This army of cadres has been created over a long period through great sacrifices by the people and the party.

These days, efforts are needed to achieve the highest possible results in all fields of social activity. Scientific norms are being established everywhere concerning the consumption of raw materials. It would be a mistake to neglect the norms of intellectual work of people, particularly in the case of cadres and specialists. When we speak about norms of intellectual work, we must not conceive this in a technical way. The question is one of raising the productivity of intellectual activity, making certain that cadres and managers are always working at full capacity.

It is customary to measure the work of cadres by the degree of plan fulfillment. This is an essential yardstick, but it is a general one. It is impossible to say, when a district or an economic unit fulfills the plan satisfactorily, that all its cadres have worked productively, without exception. Conversely, the opposite is also incorrect. The merits of some must not be used to cover up the shortcomings of others. In the same way, the mistakes and shortcomings of some cadres must not burden all the other cadres of an enterprise or institution.

Facts show that the work load of cadres is set rather tolerantly. Over 140 cadres from Tirana alone left about 2 years ago to live and work in the highlands, and not one has been replaced. And yet, we are not aware that the work of the enterprises and institutions concerned has suffered. There are about 1,500 vacant positions at republic level, and we observe that there is no great concern about filling them. But if raw materials are not delivered on time, the alarm is sounded immediately and the matter is referred to the Prime Minister's office without delay. When a number of cadres are routinely transferred over a period, without causing the overloading of those who remain, this means that we cannot speak of strict planning of management activity, and even less about valuable norms of intellectual work.

It is obvious that we cannot have single norms of intellectual work at national level and for all professions. But it is possible to find precise yard sticks of intellectual productivity in every sector and for every type of work. It was right for some scientific research institutes of the construction system to move toward operating on their independent account already this year. But even if this system of economic accountability [hozrashot] cannot be applied immediately in other institutions and technological bureaus, is it not possible to make precise calculations concerning the income they provide to society and the country's expenditure for their normal functioning? The press writes frequently about the need to save electricity. The same concern does not exist for the efficient use of knowledge and talent.

There is one campaign for the thrifty use of raw materials after another, and they are not without results. But not a word is said about staffing. And staffing has become top heavy. In the state agricultural sector alone, over 1,000 places have been created during the past 5-6 years. It is essential to review the work load of cadres and specialists in detail. We cannot claim a surplus of highly educated people, cadres, and managers at the national level. But they are not being properly used. This is partly because staffing charts are drafted more in accordance with experience, and less in conformity with concrete studies. This has frequently led to some uniformity. The apparatus of an agricultural cooperative in Puke District has approximately the same number of staff as other cooperatives in Lushnje or in Vlore, regardless of the great differences in the acreage, in the number of working people, and the quantity of production.

The organization directorates and the cadre bureau must therefore not transform themselves into archives of documents, but must come to life and carry out rigorous studies for the scientific distribution of cadres and even a redistribution of cadres where necessary.

Changes in the pace of life and productive activity are reflected very slowly in the work with cadres. Schools have responded to the country's requirements for educated and knowledgeable people, cadres, and specialists, but these are frequently not placed where they should be. Almost all jobs in management and administration are now categorized. This is true for middle-grade cadres, as well as higher specialists. The necessary people have also been trained. Despite this, although the number of officials and cadres without an adequate level of education has reached about 30,000 throughout the entire system of the economy and culture, we have not a few higher cadres doing the work of middle-grade specialists or are waiting for some appropriate job to become vacant for them.

During the earlier years of cooperativism, life itself produced the administrators of agricultural production. More or less the same was true of industry. In those years, people without adequate education could reasonably be appointed to managerial positions, as long as they had intuition, authority, and the ability to communicate with the masses. If we had waited until the schools had trained the cadres and specialists needed by the economy, many transformations and much development would have been delayed for decades on end. These cadres trained in the school of practice have performed valuable service to the economy and the people. Many of them have progressed with the times and continue to capably carry out the tasks entrusted to them. But there are also those who are not prepared for the tasks of large-scale production. We must therefore not hesitate, where necessary, to bring in better trained people to carry out these tasks. In the agricultural sector alone, where we have over 100,000 people with secondary education, there are still 5,000 team leaders who have only 8 years of schooling or only elementary education. About half the managers of sectors or economic branches have only secondary education, while higher specialists are frequently entrusted with ordinary work.

Cadres are used efficiently when they are placed in the appropriate jobs. There is a lot of talk about inefficiency and it must be admitted that there are people who are incapable of carrying out the duties entrusted them. But it is just as true to say that these same people could work successfully in other functions. For these reasons, the leading party and state organs, as well as those bodies dealing with cadres, must follow up everyone's work carefully, and when they see that someone is unable to carry out the duties entrusted to them, they must not harp on this inefficiency, but must act by transferring the person concerned to another job where he can contribute more. If there are specialists who do not have the appropriate education and cannot do the job, they must be unhesitatingly transferred in order to make room for those who are more deserving.

Throughout the system of management, the duties and responsibilities of cadres are in general properly determined in regulations. In practice, however, we can see that these regulations are disregarded. The most dangerous manifestation is the monopoly of authority on the part of some cadres, who thus hinder the initiative of those who are under them. Although, as we know, there is a special housing section in every district, in many cases lists for the allocation of new housing are compiled by the committee chairman. When scholarships are allocated for higher education or for some popular courses, the final lists approved by the committee often have nothing in common with the proposals made by the bodies whose authority it is to compile these lists.

The responsibilities have been assigned by the party and the people. They reflect our socialist democracy and they implement the centralized management of the economy; they sanction the rights and responsibilities of cadres; they are a norm of work for all cadres. Exceeding authority is therefore harmful on both sides: it encourages bureaucracy and violates democracy. Everywhere, decisions must be made by those who have the right, not by those who happen to be in a higher position. The monopoly of authority divides rights from duties, giving the former to superiors and the latter to their subordinates. But this introduces another evil. Willy-nilly, the superior is overloaded, becomes preoccupied with small matters and secondary problems, and leaves himself no time to deal with the greater tasks entrusted to him.

The task of the chairman of the executive committee and his principal assistants is to accelerate the solution of the housing problem for the entire population of a district, and not to allocate 10-15 new apartments here and there. His duty is to study and to find a way to employ all young active forces, and not to appoint five middle-grade technicians. The committee chairmen and section chiefs must devote themselves to harmonizing the basic quotas of the district's economic development, and not to distributing chemical fertilizer or the material base of this or that cooperative. In addition, the monopolization of authority discourages the middle grade and junior cadres, reducing their interest in results, turning them into mere spectators. This also increases the dangers of arriving at wrong solutions and of adopting improper decisions.

The agro-technical advice given by a specialist in a section or in the ministry cannot be valid for everyone. It would be pretentious and intellectually arrogant to believe that the problems of a particular agricultural campaign can be solved by order from above, from a particular committee or central department. In the final analysis, the ministry objectively lacks the essential knowledge needed to reach correct conclusions in determining the production structure of agricultural economies or industrial enterprises. It is said that the concentration of authority is due to the difficulties encountered on the job. It is supposedly said the shortage of apartments means that their allocation must be dealt with by the chairman of the executive committee. In fact, concentrating authority in a few hands increases the difficulties because initiative is checked and the possibility of resolving problems collectively is thus limited.

Moral values are and will remain a fundamental criterion in assessing cadres. By this I do not mean merely the political belief or the devotion of cadres to the socialist cause. Moral values, which are enriched in socialism, are among the most valued legacies, part of the great wealth left to us by previous generations and inherited by our people. They cannot be created overnight, but take decades and centuries. These values become manifest in daily activity. Moral values enhance or degrade the personality of cadres. They consolidate or harm the party's line. It is the duty of cadres to cultivate these high qualities and to show them in all their activity. This will be the best answer for those with sick opinions who disparage virtue and ascribe positive virtues to themselves. The kind of opinion which equates the innovator with the self-seeker, which considers those who are disciplined and correct as servile, which sees those who are honest and straightforward as anachronistic and out of date; and conversely, considers those who cheat to be nimble, and those who solve problems in the wrong way to be capable. These opinions encourage and excuse the placing of narrow personal interests over the interests of society. Giving way to such views means opening the way to the moral deformation of people. In every situation, it is those who are correct, energetic, honest, and who act in a party-minded way, in conformity with the true morality of the people, who must be considered superior; and not those whose character traits are marked by corrupted views. Such opinions exist because there are people who leave no stone unturned to achieve their mistaken aims and to benefit from society without making an effort; and because there are officials and cadres who do interfere improperly, show favors, and who act on the basis of corrupt friendships. It is true that cases of such corrupt acts are not as numerous as those diseased opinions claim. On the contrary, the majority of problems are resolved on the basis of party-minded justice. But those who are used to having their problems resolved improperly are trying to exaggerate and to spread such corruption in order to open the door to a friend, for favoritism, or interference.

The party's propaganda must expose these opinions. But the best propaganda is the principled conduct of cadres in dealing with the people, honest work, and solicitude in resolving the problems of people justly. It is unforgivable to tolerate cadres who use their authority to do favors, sometimes even to pursue motives of revenge, or to act improperly and contrary to the party's teachings by providing opportunities for gossip. The intellectual arrogance of some cadres must be a target of the party's criticism and of public opinion. There are leaders who strike poses and who wish to invest themselves with false authority. No sooner is a new party directive issued, than such leaders at various levels hasten to excuse themselves the duty of its execution and assume the mantle of people who issues directives and instructions. This leads to the alienation of the cadre from both reality and the people.

Comrades, people are highly cultured and have considerable political ability and experience. They know how to precisely assess the value of the opinions and statements of a particular that leader. Neither empty moralizing nor bureaucratic recipes, nor textbook cliches carry any weight. Cadres and leaders must therefore go to the people not in order to show off, but in order to help people and learn from them. Cadres must be as the masses wish them: they must be hardworking, must not shrug off responsibility, must resolve the problems of people, and must not put them off with empty promises. They must confront the problems, tasks, and difficulties that arise in life. The moral values of cadres are enhanced when they take the pulse of the masses, when they get to know and master the situation on the spot, and not in their offices. When cadres are bound to the work of the base, they are more under the control of the masses and are regularly accountable to the masses. Their active presence in the thick of labor increases the leaders' knowledge, strengthens their logic, and adds weight to what they say.

In principle, the rules and procedures on the implementation of cadre policy are familiar. But there are shortcomings in practice, which are not without consequences in the efficiency of cadres' work. In the broadest sense of the word, cadre policy also involves training middle-grade and higher specialists and the rules governing training and retraining. I will not mention here all the successes attained in this field. Suffice it to mention that our colleges provide all the specialisms and subspecialisms at university and postgraduate level required by production and culture. But despite the farsighted and long-term nature of this policy, anomalies have been observed from time to time. No few studies and forecasts are undertaken, but experience shows that in some cases colleges find themselves unprepared when confronted with the new requirements of production. These studies themselves are sometimes of an approximate nature. At the current rate of enrollment in the Faculty of Agrarian Economy, it will take no less than 10 years to meet the needs of agriculture for specialists trained in this faculty and to replace those who do not have adequate training.

The policy of specialist training required by the economy, culture, and defense, must be more sensitive to the prospects of development and to new trends and needs in technology. But it must be borne in mind that no matter how conscientious and devoted they may be, cadres cannot progress with the times equipped solely with the knowledge acquired at school and through practice. Cadres must learn systematically, study the party's line thoroughly, and they must find counsel on all questions in Comrade Enver's works. They must follow new developments in science step by step, draw conclusions from the practice of production, and open up new vistas for production. In this context, we are justified in being displeased with the fact that in your district the number of cadres who have embarked on the path of scientific training is very small.

Cadre policy has been and remains the party's monopoly. The distribution, redistribution, transfer, and

employment of cadres are subject to some unique criteria and are determined by the general interests of society. But sometimes, far from being the party's monopoly, this important question remains in the hands of some cadre bureaus, and is often resolved subjectively. The appointment of younger cadres is a step that remains in their memory, it is the first [word indistinct] with which they are confronted. This step must therefore be well considered. It must respect as far as possible both the interest and inclination of the individual and not only these requirements of society. It is a fact that there are some cadres, particularly from the larger cities, who fail to present themselves for work, thus abusing the effort made by society to educate them. There is undoubtedly an element of pretentiousness in this, as well as of immaturity and of a desire to find a cushy corner. But the mechanism of the distribution, movement, and management of cadres is also not faultless. Thousands of specialists are sent to northern regions as soon as they complete their studies, away from their families and homes. Why should all these people be left dangling, waiting impatiently for a transfer, when it should be possible to set a normal period of service in these areas, which these young people, I am certain, would accept willingly. Is it not reasonable to provide some pay incentive for this contingent of cadres, in accordance with the possibilities of society? This would help to avoid not only a lot of interference, but also some social problem that arises here and there.

The question of raising female comrades to responsible positions has not yet been overcome. We must accept that this priority in cadre policy has been pursued spasmodically. This is shown by the fact that out of 17,200 team leaders in the agricultural sector, only 2,800 are female. We must add that women comrades are even less evident in higher positions, although they have all the attributes of capable, regular, and devoted leaders. We must therefore strongly oppose both conservatism and a certain mistrust concerning the appointment of female comrades.

Work with cadres is a delicate matter, and one of the most difficult. This question concerns vital party interests. Secrecy is an essential element, but this does not mean that the party's work on this question must be closed and [word indistinct]. Allow me to say something in passing. The question of preserving secrecy has become a very serious matter. The party must tackle this question at all levels, from the base and to the top. There is a lot of gossip and coffee-shop talk. People are saying what they want about cadres and state affairs. There is talk and speculation in coffee shops, streets, and stores about who will be transferred, who will be appointed, who was criticized at the basic organization, and who was in the right. There is talk about what goods are being shipped to a particular country, and what is arriving, what there is in the shops and what in warehouses, what was said at the ministry collegium, and so forth. Such gossip-mongers are to be found in the state offices, and in party apparatuses, in the central organs, as well as in the districts and at the base. And it must be said that by talking about everything, by broadcasting state secrets in the streets and in the family, these people commit a serious mistake.

They are also committing an offense against the law. An end must be put to this situation, immediately. Office matters are not a theme for discussion at home. What is the point of closing the safes and the doors in the office, even with seals, and then having the official responsible bringing up everything in the market, talking freely to friends, members of the family? These people must first be criticized. But if they do not learn their lesson, they must be removed from their jobs. In fact, under the laws governing state secrets, they should face legal prosecution. The officials and cadres of the people's regime, from the base to the center, must be devoted, loyal, and capable of keeping the secrets entrusted them.

On the question of cadre policy too, as I have said, secrecy must be preserved, in the sense that it is not a matter for the market place to know when a comrade is being considered for an appointment, when the party or the state organs are discussing the work of a particular person, and so forth. But the question of preserving secrecy must not be misunderstood to the point of violating democracy and the implementation of the line of the masses. This is essential in the procedure of selecting and assessing cadres. The implementation of the norm that says that the opinion of the collective must be sought when a cadre is to be appointed, and not the opinion of people in the marketplace or in coffee shops is not a question of secrecy, but is connected with the implementation of the line of the masses. People must be assessed in organized meetings and not on streets corners. This way of doing things harms neither the party spirit nor the cadres. On the contrary, it is essential, because it helps people get to know the cadres [passage indistinct].

There are practices in the work with cadres, which involve compromises and leave an unpleasant aftertaste concerning certain essential operations which the party has directed should be carried out. The rotation of cadres has acquired a bad reputation. Although rotation must be applied even in the case of capable cadres, and in fact in their case especially, rotation is usually used when committees are confronted with incompetence, some moral lapse, or some other reason. In the case of work with cadres, as in everything else, everything must be given its proper name. The intriguer must be moved because he is an intriguer, and not because of the principle of rotation. Those who are inefficient must find their place, and must not compromise [passage indistinct]. More than in any other field, narrow-mindedness, one-sidedness, and suspicions and prejudices about people have no place in work with cadres, because [passage indistinct]. As an integral part of the army of the builders of socialism, cadres can and must contribute more to strengthening the economy, raising the quality of culture, improving moral standards, implanting new socialist

norms in our way of life, and communicating with people, to stimulate the initiative of the masses, and to set in motion all the driving forces in our society.

Once again, congratulations. Long live the party.

Marko, Delegation Visit Turkish Parliament

AU232026 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 23 Mar 88

[Text] Yildirim Akbulut, speaker of the Turkish Grand National Assembly, received the delegation of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, led by Comrade Rita Marko, at the seat of the Turkish Parliament yesterday.

Nesip Kaci, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania to the Republic of Turkey also took part in the meeting.

Yildirim Akbulut pointed out that there are old friendly ties between the Albanian and Turkish peoples, and that we desire their further development for the sake of our mutual interests. He stressed that the arrival of the People's Assembly delegation will serve to strengthen the friendly and fraternal relations between our two countries and peoples.

Comrade Rita Marko expressed his thanks for the warm welcome extended to the People's Assembly delegation, and the words of (?greeting) conveyed to the Albanian people and Government. Comrade Rita Marko said that the friendship between the Albanian and Turkish peoples is an old one, and that every opportunity exists to expand and develop it.

Yesterday evening, Yildirim Akbulut, speaker of the Turkish Grand National Assembly, hosted a dinner in honor of the People's Assembly delegation led by Comrade Rita Marko. During the dinner, which passed in a warm and friendly atmosphere, Yildirm Akbulut said among other things that Albania is consistently following the road set by the great Albania leader, Enver Hoxha, and that the relations between our two countries are sound.

Comrade Rita Marko spoke of the love and respect of the Albanian people for the leader and great figure of modern Turkey, Mustafa Kemal Ataturk. He also conveyed the feelings of sincere friendship felt by the Albanian people for the Turkish people.

1988 Trade Agreement Signed With Austria

AU232024 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 23 Mar 88

[Text] The protocol for the exchange of goods in 1988 between the Government of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the Federal Government of Austria was signed in Tirana today.

The protocol was signed for the Albanian side by Konstandin Hoxha, deputy minister of foreign trade, and for the Austrian side by the deputy secretary of state of the Federal Ministry for Economic Affairs, Dr Josef Schach.

Izedin Hajdini, director at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the members of the two delegations also took part in the signing ceremony. Paul Leifer, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic to our country, was also present.

Our country will export various minerals, copper wire, ferro-chrome, marble, ready-made clothing, carpets and rugs, wood-carvings, medicinal herbs, and so forth to Austria, and will import various kinds of steel, [word indistinct] piping, various chemicals, engineering equipment, and so forth.

During its stay, the Austrian delegation was received by Shane Korbeci, minister of foreign trade, and exchanged views on the further extension of trade between Albania and Austria. The delegation visited Tirana, Kruje, and Durres. The Austrian delegation left our country today.

Tunisian Paper Interviews Petur Tanchev
PM231522 Tunis L'ACTION in French 19 Mar 88 p 9

[Interview with Petur Tanchev, first deputy chairman of the Bulgarian State Council, by Hichem Skander in Tunis—date not given]

[Text] [Skander] What is the aim of your Maghreb tour?

[Tanchev] We have visited Morocco and Tunisia. We have come here as friends visiting friends with whom we have traditional ties. I would like to express my gratitude for the invitation and for the warm hospitality we have been shown.

The main aim of the visits was to cooperate in the expansion and development of cooperation between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and Morocco and Tunisia in the political, economic, and cultural spheres.

We are very satisfied with the meetings and talks we have had and with the results obtained. In Tunisia, the most important meeting was with His Excellency Zine El Abidine Ben Ali, head of state and chairman of the Constitutional Democratic Rally.

We conveyed to the Tunisian head of state a personal message from Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the Bulgarian State Council.

During the talks which we had with Prime Minister Hedi Baccouche, Constitutional Democratic Rally Director Hamed Karoui, and with ministers and other government and party officials, we jointly noted that new opportunities and new spheres of cooperation exist and should be exploited.

In the international sphere, we are living through a period in which the world is experiencing profound changes.

There is now a more urgent need than ever for mankind's main task to be the removal of the nuclear threat and the reduction of weapons of mass destruction. Life and age-old civilizations and cultures can only be saved by the combined efforts of all states in the world whose interests are interdependent, despite differences of regime.

We Bulgarians and Tunisians are happy to see that we both attach importance to the idea of peaceful coexistence. This is a strong and broad basis for all forms of cooperation.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria attaches great importance to its relations with Tunisia. We greatly value Tunisia's constructive approach and its role in promoting peace. We are pleased that Tunisia values the consistent peace policy pursued by the People's Republic of Bulgaria and State Council Chairman Todor Zhivkov, and the efforts they are making to establish good-neighborly relations in the Balkans and to turn that region into a nuclear-free zone serving disarmament and harmony in Europe and the world.

[Skander] What is the state of Tunisian-Bulgarian relations at state and party levels?

[Tanchev] As I have already said, we want our relations to be placed on a higher level. They are relations which are rooted in the distant past. We are bound by a common historical destiny, and by the two peoples' desire to live in freedom and build their own future.

We in the People's Republic of Bulgaria are following the success of friendly Tunisia on the path to reform and social progress with great interest and sympathy. During this visit, we have gained first-hand knowledge of the new stage which your country entered on 7 November 1987. At present, Bulgaria is undergoing a far-reaching restructuring process in all spheres of social and economic life and the aim of this process is to turn our country into a developed country.

All this creates favorable conditions for the establishment of business contacts, and the design of new forms of economic cooperation, to ensure that they develop on a bigger and more long-term scale and are consistent with our economic potential. The Bulgarians want this. This desire is shared by our Tunisian partners.

We discussed ways and practical methods of expanding business contacts in industrial sectors, cooperation in some spheres of engineering, scientific, technical, and mining cooperation, and cooperation in geological research, the rural economy, and the agricultural and food industry.

Boosting exchanges at government level between our parliaments and social organizations will help to strengthen bilateral relations. Of course, it is still important to place political relations on a higher level.

We also support the position adopted by Tunisia and the other Arab countries in favor of convening an international conference on Near East problems, with the participation of all the interested parties, including the PLO—The Palestinian Arab people's sole legitimate representative.

Developments in the Near East situation confirm that such a conference is the only way to find a just and lasting settlement.

Our view, and that of our Tunisian friends, is that we must expand the traditional bilateral relations which have existed for 25 years between the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union—one of the oldest agrarian parties in Europe and the world—an a great authoritative party like the Constitutional Democratic Rally. We greatly

value these contacts and are satisfied with their favorable development. The potential which exists in this sphere has certainly not been exhausted.

Official representatives of the Constitutional Democratic Rally are playing an active part in the dialogue organized by the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union among agrarian parties, centrist parties, left radical parties, radical and other democratic parties and organizations, including participation in their meetings in Sofia. The biggest ever meeting, which was held in Bulgaria in 1986, brought together more than 126 delegations from 84 countries on all continents. The authoritative voice of the participants rang out from these platforms calling for peace, detente, and disarmament. The Bulgarian president's speeches on the essential problems of peace and united action by antimilitarist movements deeply impressed these influential political forces.

[Skander] The NATO countries are increasingly opposing the Washington agreement on the elimination of medium-range and short-range weapons. Is it not likely to be revoked, as some people fear?

[Tanchev] The agreement on the elimination of two classes of missiles is a historic victory for common sense and political realism and benefits all peoples. It is the first step toward a future without nuclear weapons and creates great hope for the struggle for disarmament. That is why is was broadly and unanimously supported by the broadest sections of world public opinion. It was also hailed by the leaders of the NATO countries. A large number of U.S. allies cooperated in drawing up this agreement. The ratification process is now under way. As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, and it has stressed this several times, there can be no obstacles. The Soviet peace initiatives, proposed by Mikhail Gorbachev, form the basis of the agreement's objectives and the efforts to ensure that it was signed. In fact, this agreement has been signed by the whole Soviet people.

The prevailing opinion in the United States is that the Senate will ratify the agreement. Unfortunately, there are worrying signs. We can see them in the attempts by certain U.S. circles to block ratification of the agreement, to distort it, or to weaken it by unjustified amendments. Some NATO countries are adopting a similar approach, calling for "compensation" for the missiles to be eliminated by increasing and modernizing conventional and nuclear arsenals in the North Atlantic bloc.

It is obvious that a reduction in one kind of weapon must not be accompanied by the development of others. The same can be said of the attempts to develop space weapons. The People's Republic of Bulgaria resolutely supports the reduction in weapons of mass destruction, respecting the Soviet-U.S. agreement and not violating the ABM agreement for an agreed period.

[Skander] The Balkan countries met in Belgrade recently, for the first time in their history. Many of the disputes which existed between countries in the region were settled. Bulgaria was reconciled with Turkey.

What is your assessment of the results of this conference?

[Tanchev] The Belgrade meeting, which was held at Yugoslavia's initiative, marks a new stage in the development of Balkan cooperation. For the first time since World War II, the foreign ministers sat down at a table and engaged in constructive dialogue on questions of mutual interest.

The meeting was dominated by the desire to seek ways of making general Balkan cooperation more dynamic. An important place was given to questions relating to the consolidation of confidence and security and efforts to make the Balkans a nuclear-free zone.

As a major political event, this meeting had a broad impact at international level, including the Arab world. Our talks in Morocco and Tunisia confirm that this meeting was welcomed by our friends in those countries. The document which was adopted at that meeting constitutes a broad platform for cooperation and serves as an example for the establishment of good-neighborly relations in a strategically important region. Our Arab friends think that the meeting will have a favorable effect on the situation in the Mediterranean basin and on efforts to turn this region into a zone of peace and security.

[Skander] President Zhivkov recently stated that the party organs must be separated from the state structures. Can you tell us more about that?

[Tanchev] I have already discussed restructuring in Bulgaria. Restructuring is a process which has already been started in the Soviet Union and the same is true of the other socialist countries. The process of far-reaching change bears the individual stamp of each socialist country, but it also has common features and aspires to the same objectives: a qualitatively new state in our society.

In Bulgaria, after the historic BCP plenum in April 1956, major changes were undertaken, and restructuring reached cruising speed with the decisions of the BCP National Conference held last January. It unanimously confirmed the idea of the July 1987 plenum for restructuring in all spheres of social and political life.

Our national goal is to turn Bulgaria into a highly developed socialist country by the end of the 20th century.

The path which leads to this objective depends on the realization of the scientific and technical revolution in conditions of socialist democracy and self-management by the people.

The heart of restructuring is handing over the management of socialist property to labor collectives and people's regional self-management communities, namely municipalities and city halls. This means that in future they will have ownership, they will be responsible for the results of labor and the distribution of goods. In other words, power is descending to a large extent from the top of the social pyramid and is being redistributed right down to its base.

This new model for building socialism in the People's Republic of Bulgaria represents a move from power for the people to power of the people. This is a new type of socialist democracy.

To this end, major changes are being made in the government structure, including the council of ministers. The supreme leadership only controls strategic management and planning. The BCP's leadership role as governing force has been safeguarded. But the party and its organs will no longer be a "step in the hierarchy of state power." The BCP will exercise its functions through its members on the spot. The decision to eliminate some leadership positions, including that of Central Committee director general [as published] is very important.

By giving enterprises, teams, and regional communities more rights and responsibilities, the state and its bodies are freed from the functions which hamper the initiative of local bodies.

In short, the better the community and the individual work, the more they will be rewarded. We are saying goodbye to egalitarianism.

As is obvious, the reform is a crucial task for the whole people. This line is also fully supported by the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union. In the new conditions, unity of action among Communists and Agrarian Union members will be further consolidated, as will the joint action by the two parties which have stood side by side for more than 60 years—20 years in the fight against fascism, and more than 40 years in building socialism. In the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union we are facing these large-scale tasks with the desire to devote all our strength to our country's prosperity.

Tanchev, Delegation Meet With Malinowski

AU230742 Sofia BTA in English
2244 GMT 22 Mar 88

[Text] Warsaw, March 22 (BTA)—The delegation of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS), led by Mr Petur Tanchev, secretary of the BZNS, and first vice president of the State Council of Bulgaria, which is attending the 10th Congress of the United Peasants' Party (ZSL), met today with Mr Roman Malinowski, chairman of the Supreme Executive of the United Peasants' Party and marshal of the Polish Sejm.

Mr Petur Tanchev commended highly the proceedings of the 10th Congress of the ZSL as a manifestation of the party's political maturity, of her loyalty to the unity of action with the Polish United Workers' Party, to the cause of socialism and to friendship with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

The sides praised the cooperation between the BZNS and the ZSL and noted that it is a valuable contribution to the overall promotion of fraternal and friendly relations between the two countries and the two peoples. It was emphasised that the BZNS and the ZSL ardently welcome the Soviet peace initiatives advanced by Mikhail Gorbachev and think highly of the Soviet-American INF Treaty.

PRC Minister Meets Journalists, Departs

AU232016 Sofia BTA in English
1947 GMT 23 Mar 88

[Text] Sofia, March 23 (BTA)—A delegation of the People's Republic of China headed by Mr Wang Meng, minister of culture, visited this country from March 18 to March 23. The leader of the delegation had a meeting with journalists. A number of things in your country made a strong impression on me, said he. I will point out some of them like the old Bulgarian cultural tradition and the dynamic role played by your country in international cultural life. I had also the opportunity to assure myself of the consistent cares of the Bulgarian Communist Party and of Secretary General Mr Todor Zhivkov personally, for the development of culture, of intellectual sphere. Mr Wang Meng said that he assesses the visit of the Chinese cultural delegation as successful, that the talks that have been held here have confirmed the mutual interest in the enrichment of the cooperation and exchange. He pointed out the unanimity that has been reached for more qualitative than quantitative contacts in the cultural sphere between the two countries. It was also a common opinion that in the future the relations between separate artists, institutes and institutions should be increased. The present visit of Chinese writers in Bulgaria will be followed by a visit by Bulgarian writers to China in April. Similar contacts have already been planned between artists, architects... The guest assessed the prospects before the cultural cooperation as very good. And the new processes, the restructuring of society in both countries, will also be to the benefit of our future cooperation, said the minister of culture of China, before he left this country.

Lukanov Meets French Foreign Minister in Paris

AU231933 Sofia BTA in English
1816 GMT 23 Mar 88

[Text] Paris, March 23 (BTA corr.)—Mr Andrey Lukanov, minister of foreign economic relations of Bulgaria, who arrived in the French capital to take part as cochairman in the 15th regular session of the Bulgaro-French

Committee for Economic, Industrial and Technological Cooperation, conferred today with Mr Jean-Bernard Raimond, minister of external relations of France.

The two sides discussed concrete issues of the cooperation in different spheres of the economy and of trade, the exchange of cadres and scientific and technological information. The two ministers stressed the real possibility for promoting contacts and exchange between the two countries in the ever more favorable conditions for maintaining a constructive international political dialogue.

The French foreign minister showed interest in the processes of restructuring in Bulgaria's economy and social relations as a condition revealing great possibilities for the further advance of French-Bulgarian relations.

Atanasov Receives Polish Planning Chief
AU232021 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 23 Mar 88

[Text] On 23 March Comrade Georgi Atanasov received Zdzislaw Sadowski, deputy chairman of Poland's Council of Ministers and chairman of the Planning Commission at the Council of Ministers. He is visiting Bulgaria as head of the Polish delegation to the 41st session of the CEMA Committee on Cooperation in Planning.

Information related to the progress of restructuring in the two countries was exchanged. The successful development of Bulgarian-Polish relations was noted. It was stressed that the further development of scientific-technical cooperation, specialization, and production sharing will expand relations between the two countries.

The meeting was attended by Stoyan Ovcharov, minister of economy and planning.

Stanishev Receives RCP Working Group
AU232055 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 23 Mar 88

[Text] A working group of the RCP led by Nicolae Mihai, deputy head of the RCP Central Committee Foreign Relations and International Economic Cooperation Department, visited Bulgaria. A cooperation plan between the BCP and RCP for the period of 1988-89 was coordinated during the visit. The guests were received by Comrade Dimitur Stanishev. During the friendly talk the mutual willingness to develop and enrich cooperation between the two parties was pointed out.

Kawiani, Afghan Delegation Depart 22 March
AU241145 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 23 Mar 88 p 8

[Text] The delegation of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan led by Najmuddin Kawiani, Politburo member and secretary of the party's Central Committee, departed from Bulgaria on 22 March.

Milko Balev, Politburo member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, saw the delegation off at Sofia Airport.

Also present was Mehrabuddin Paktiawal, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Afghanistan.

Maltese Foreign Minister Arrives 24 Mar
AU230756 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0600 GMT 24 Mar 88

[Text] A short while ago Dr Vincent Tabone, foreign minister of Malta, arrived in Bulgaria on an official visit.

At Sofia Airport he was welcomed by Lyuben Gotsev, deputy minister of foreign affairs, and other officials.

Political Consultations With Cuba Reported
AU231935 Sofia BTA in English 1802 GMT 23 Mar 88

[Text] Sofia, March 23 (BTA)—Regular political consultations between the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria and Cuba were held here on March 21 and 22. The Bulgarian delegation was headed by Mr Mariy Ivanov, first deputy minister of foreign affairs, and the delegation of Cuba was led by Mr Jose Raul Viera, first deputy minister of foreign affairs. During the consultations the two sides expressed satisfaction over the upgrade development of the fraternal relations and fruitful cooperation between Bulgaria and Cuba. The two sides noted the complete unity of the assessments and views of the two ministries on all current international questions that were discussed. Mr Jose Raul Viera was received by Mr Petur Mladenov, member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and minister of foreign affairs of Bulgaria, and by Mr Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the CC of the BCP.

International Services TU Congress Opens
AU221525 Sofia BTA in English 1454 GMT 22 Mar 88

[Text] Sofia, March 22 (BTA)—The most important task today is to unite the working people in their will for peace and disarmament, to find new ways for more efficient trade union influence for the stabilization of the international situation, reads the declaration adopted at the international trade union meeting held here. It was organized in the framework of the 8th International Congress of the Workers in the Sphere of Services which was opened here today.

The congress is attended by representatives of 250 trade unions from 90 countries, as well as by 25 international and regional organizations. The delegates are discussing problems brought by the growing unemployment in

certain countries, the social consequences of the application of new technologies, and protection of trade union rights and freedoms. Most of the speakers pointed out that the growing military spending is at the expense of workers' social security.

The International Union of the Trade Unions of the Workers in the Sphere of Services includes workers in state enterprises and institutions, community services, health care, posts and communications, banks and insurance institutions. This union represents 136 TU organizations with more than 37 million workers.

Todorov, Balev Receive PU President

AU231332 Sofia BTA in English
1254 GMT 23 Mar 88

[Text] Sofia, March 23 (BTA)—Today Mr Stanko Todorov, chairman of the National Assembly, received Dr Hans Stercken, president of the Council of the Interparliamentary Union, who is paying a visit here at the invitation of the Bulgarian Interparliamentary Group.

Mr Stanko Todorov gave a high assessment to the active work of the Interparliamentary Union, the importance of which is growing in the present responsible times when cardinal issues such as the averting of the threat of a thermonuclear war are being solved.

The general opinion is that the dialogue maintained between the parliaments, as well as the stands of the Interparliamentary Union can contribute to this end.

On his part Dr Hans Stercken expressed satisfaction over the participation of the Bulgarian Parliament in the work of the Interparliamentary Union.

Dr Hans Stercken, who is chairman of the Foreign Affairs Issues Commission with the Bundestag, conferred today with Mr Milko Balev, chairman of the Foreign Policy Commission of the National Assembly. Assessing the cooperation between the two commissions as good, the two sides declared themselves for the activation of the contacts. They stressed the role and the responsibility of the parliaments and their commissions in promoting cooperation between the separate countries and in solving the problems of peace and disarmament.

At the talks it was pointed out that the relations between Bulgaria and the FRG are very good. The summit talks held during the visit of Mr Todor Zhivkov to the FRG were pointed to as an important impetus to the activization of the cooperation between the two countries.

Balkan Air Chief Interviewed on 1988 Prospects

AU231441 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian
22 Mar 88 p 6

[Interview with Kostadin Botev, chief director of Balkan Air, by "a RABOTNICHESKO DELO representative": "Comfort and More Frequent Flights"—date and place not given]

[Text] Last year Balkan Air carried about 2.8 million passengers, including 1.2 million on domestic routes. How many does the company expect to carry this year, and how great will be the improvement in the quality of the service offered? This was the subject of our representative's conversation with Kostadin Botev, chief director of Balkan Air.

[Botev] At the start of the busy flying season, which begins in May, our aircraft fleet will be increased by an additional TU-154M aircraft for international and charter flights. During the summer this plane will also be used on domestic routes. We have bought eight more long-range AN-24 aircraft, which will be used on domestic routes to increase flight frequency. In fact, planes will leave every hour on the Sofia-Varna route, and every 50 minutes on the Sofia-Burgas route. Our airline also has two new AN-12 aircraft, which will be used for carrying large-dimension loads and animals.

This year a further route will be added to Balkan Air's international services, namely Varna-Tashkent-Varna. A Balkan Air plane will leave every Thursday, and an Aeroflot plane every Sunday on this route. The revenue from the joint operation will be split between the two companies. Curiously enough, among the socialist airlines this form of association is in operation only between the Bulgarian and Soviet airlines. A further novel feature is the use of mixed crews on the flights between Sofia and Moscow.

Regular passengers may have noticed that the number of passenger seats in the TU-154 aircraft has been reduced, from 161 to 151. This is sufficient to meet the international standards for first, "business," and economy classes. In April we will complete the reequipment of all TU-154 planes, which will then have only 141 seats. Despite the fall in revenue, the reduction in seat numbers will provide improved comfort for the passengers. The changes in the interior design of the TU-154 and TU-134 planes will also probably cause surprise.

What new developments are there in the ticket offices? Beginning this year, passengers will be offered the "Timatik" service free of charge. This means that, as well as the ticket reservation, passengers will get a printout of information on passport, border, customs, and health requirements for all countries in the world. It is also proposed to join the "Sakhar" international system for reserving a hotel room for the passenger on arrival, if desired.

Commerce Chamber Chairman on Foreign Trade

AU231556 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian
22 Mar 88 p 3

[Interview with Petur Rusev, chairman of the Bulgarian Chamber of Commerce and Industry: "Under New Economic Conditions" by Valeri Vasev—date, place not given]

[Excerpts] Under the circumstances of new economic relations the activities of self-managing economic organizations are entirely devoted to the satisfaction of the

steadily growing requirements of domestic and international markets. Following the decisions of the 1987 July and November plenums of the BCP Central Committee and of the BCP National Conference, conditions were established under which the producers' efforts are aimed at the solution of numerous problems connected with satisfying consumers' strict requirements.

The Bulgarian economy is an open one. Its dynamic participation in the international division of labor is determined by the specific nature of industrial and agricultural development in our country. Although a small country, Bulgaria implements an active trading policy not only with the socialist countries (which represent 80 percent of our turnover), but also with numerous enterprises and organizations in other countries.

At the present stage of development our economy is being restructured on basis of the principle of self-management, and the so-called mediators play an important role in the implementation of the projects on a new model of socialism. This is the subject of our interview with Petur Rusev, chairman of the Bulgarian Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

[Vasev] Comrade Rusev, could you brief our readers on the structure, activities and tasks assigned to your organization following the July and November plenums of the BCP Central Committee and the BCP National Conference?

[Rusev] The Bulgarian Chamber of Commerce and Industry is a continuation of chambers of commerce dating back to 1884. Its activities were interrupted in 1948 and were resumed in 1952. [passage omitted on the history and organization of the chamber] The Chamber of Commerce and Industry today is part of an international chain which groups together 5,000 chambers of this type from 120 countries. [passage omitted on the functions of the chamber]

[Vasev] Can you describe the role of the Bulgarian Chamber of Commerce and Industry under the new socioeconomic relations, or more precisely, in the relations between producers and markets, and vice versa.

[Rusev] In 1987 a fundamental reform of economic management affecting all sectors and links of national economy began in our country. The broad expansion of democracy and decentralization through the introduction of self-management in economic organizations and the new economic structures have radically changed the conditions of economic operations. [passage omitted further elaborating on new economic situation]

The activities of the Bulgarian Chamber of Commerce and Industry in 1988 take into consideration the interests of self-managing economic organizations under the newly established conditions. In mapping out our program we took into account the recommendations and proposals of our members, whose number increased to the impressive figure of 1,200 in recent years, as well as the proposals submitted by the public organs attached to the chamber, such as councils, sections, and committees. We are justified in stating that the program is the joint result of cooperation with self-managing organizations which are members of the Bulgarian Chamber of Commerce and Industry. This is a guarantee for the successful implementation of our program.

[Vasev] Can you describe the characteristic features of the program submitted and its role in stimulating self-managing organizations for the satisfaction of market demands?

[Rusev] As regards international relations, emphasis is laid on an active contribution to the expansion of direct contacts between Bulgarian and foreign partners. Each of the measures included in the program are aimed at a specific target. Through planned economic days, "round table meetings," exchanges of experts' delegations, and others, the Bulgarian Chamber of Commerce and Industry will contribute to the establishment of joint trusts and enterprises with partners from CEMA member states, and will obtain greater efficiency as a result of direct relations. Measures for relations with non-socialist countries are mainly aimed at assisting new forms of cooperation, such as associations with foreign investment participation, technology transfer, joint ventures in customs-free trade zones, and others. [passage omitted on the issue of special magazines and periodicals issued by the Bulgarian Chamber of Commerce and Industry, and on the chamber's participation in international fairs].

New Orders on Military Service, Education

AU231252 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian
22 Mar 88 p 2

[Text] Issues No. 22 of the State Gazette publishes the following more important acts:

—Decree No.212 on an addition to Decree No. 606 concerning arrangements for the regular military service of young men who have entered employment underground in ore and coal mining and mining production. A new paragraph is created, under which youths of the intakes due to be called for service in the 1988-90 period who have started work in production at shipbuilding enterprises and the Radomir Heavy Machine-Building Plant are regarded as having completed their regular military service.

—Council of Ministers Decree No. 7 of 2 March 1988 on an addition to Council of Ministers Decree No. 23 of 1984 concerning the resolving of certain problems relating to the Todor Kableshkov Higher People's Institute of Military Transportation in Sofia. With the consent of the minister of transport, those who graduated from the T. Kableshkov Semhigher Railroad Institute before the end of the 1983-84 academic year may take the necessary

additional examinations according to the academic program of the T. Kableshkov Higher People's Institute of Military Transportation to obtain the civilian qualification "transportation engineer-operative."

—The ministry of Culture, Science, and Education has published an Order on acceptance of students into technical schools at above secondary level that are integrated with higher educational establishments.

—The Ministry of the Economy and Planning has published an Order on the voluntary insurance of agricultural crops by agricultural organizations. Economic organizations, their sections, and scientific instituted may voluntarily insure the harvest of field crops and also the harvest of fruits, vegetable, rose, and mulberry gardens; vineyards; strawberries, raspberries, rosehips, and blackberries; fruit crop nurseries, herb gardens, and grafting nurseries; medicinal plants, blachcurrants, (cassis), hops, and seedlings; seed nurseries, flowers grown for seed and sale, greenhouses, and hothouses.

Sofia Joins International Antismoking Appeal

AU240859 Sofia BTA in English
0835 GMT 24 Mar 88

["International Day Without Cigarette Smoke"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, March 24 (BTA)—Bulgarian public organizations and state departments have joined the appeal of the World Health Organization for declaring April 7 1988 an international day without cigarette smoke.

In Bulgaria this day is marked as the day of the workers in the field of health care.

"Let every smoker give up cigarettes at least on that one day (and why not forever)," the appeal reads.

It is pointed out that in Bulgaria cigarette smoking has acquired alarming proportions. About 2,500,000 people of Bulgaria's population of nine million are incidental or regular smokers. The number of smokers among teenagers is also growing alarmingly. Two of every three men aged under 40 smoke and every third woman aged 25-40 is a smoker.

The appeal is signed by the leadership of the most mass sociopolitical organization in Bulgaria—the Fatherland Front, by the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions, by the CC of the Dimitrov Young Communist League, by the CC of the Bulgarian Red Cross, by the National Temperance Committee, by the Movement of the Bulgarian Women, by the Ministry of Culture, Science and Education, and by the Ministry of Public Health and Social Welfare.

Sofia Publishes AIDS-Related Figures

AU221522 Sofia BTA in English
1446 GMT 22 Mar 88

[Text] Sofia, March 22 (BTA)—A record 81,037 people, including 4,021 foreigners, were screened for the AIDS infection in Bulgaria during the last two weeks. One person tested positive for the virus.

The virus carrier was a candidate for marriage. Premarital AIDS testing is mandatory in Bulgaria.

Fifty-eight people were found to have been exposed to the AIDS infection among the 569,969 Bulgarians tested in this country so far. The number of those who have developed the full-blown symptoms of the disease (two Bulgarians) has remained unchanged for months. Forty-one laboratories nationwide analyze blood samples for AIDS.

The largest number of those tested belong to the risk groups. Foreigners seeking to stay in Bulgaria for more than one month are required to report for testing. More than 50 foreigners have left the country so far after they have been found to be HIV carriers. This is the internationally adopted practice in such cases.

At the beginning of the year, the only pregnant woman, who tested positive for the virus among some 45,000 expectant mothers screened, gave birth to a physiologically healthy baby. Experts are not yet certain whether the child has been infected.

Church Rally To Go Ahead Despite Ban

AU240754 Paris AFP in English
2228 GMT 23 Mar 88

[Text] Bratislava, Czechoslovakia, March 23 (AFP)—A rally for more religious and civil liberty is to be held here Friday despite an official ban, the organisers said on Wednesday.

Catholic activist Frantisek Miklosko said organisers had requested clearance for "a peaceful rally" early March but had been turned down by the local authorities.

Mr. Miklosko said the ban had come as no surprise, but that organisers intended to go ahead with the rally Friday evening outside the national theatre in this eastern city.

The rally will call on the authorities to ensure "total religious liberty and civil rights", and to appoint new bishops to the 10 vacant dioceses out of 13 in Czechoslovakia, Mr. Miklosko added.

The official media have recently carried articles expressing concern that the Catholic Church became a rallying point for opposition to the Communist regime in Prague.

Charter 77 Protests Recent Police 'Excesses'

AU231136 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German
23 Mar 88 p 2

[Text] Prague/Vienna—The latest Charter 77 document and the latest statement by the unofficial Prague Committee for the Defense of the Unjustly Prosecuted (VONS) harshly criticize the most recent excesses of the CSSR authorities against believers and Charter 77 activists. The Charter 77 document has been sent to the prosecutor general and the Secretariat for Church Affairs of the CSSR Ministry of Culture, and, additionally—for his information—to Prague's archbishop, Cardinal Frantisek Tomasek.

In the message Charter 77 reiterates its full support for the 31-item petition circulating among CSSR Christians and its demands for religious freedom and the separation of church and state. The protest particularly pillories the authorities' reprisals on the occasion of the pilgrimage to worship Holy Agnes of Bohemia on 6 March. A total of 17 civil rights activists, including the three Charter 77 spokesmen and several VONS members, were detained for 48 hours, other CSSR citizens were watched in their homes, others were warned against undertaking the planned trip to Prague or were taken away for questioning.

"The state security service is obviously trying once again to criminalize our work in connection with the increasing activities of the CSSR Catholics," the Charter 77 document says. In view of the criticism from at home and abroad, Prague has repeatedly pointed out that freedom of ecclesiastical ceremonies in churches is guaranteed. In reality there is indeed open impediment to religious ceremonies. Furthermore, priests are hindered from doing their work and the discrimination of believers has again become a daily practice. This means there is a general, ominous change toward a deterioration of the situation, Charter 77 states.

On the occasion of the celebration on 6 March all access roads were blocked by police patrols. People heading toward the church were sent to another Prague church by policemen. Those arriving at the door of St Veit Cathedral were filmed; in the cathedral itself great number of plainclothes policemen collected and destroyed the printed texts of the hymns.

In their protests the Charter 77 representatives call this way of action a new impediment to normal relations between the state and church.

Calls on Bloc To Condemn '68 Invasion

AU231445 Paris AFP in English
1335 GMT 23 Mar 88

[Excerpts] Prague, March 23 (AFP)—A human rights movement here on Wednesday called on the five Soviet bloc countries whose armies crushed the Prague Spring in 1968 to publicly discuss this "unjustifiable" invasion of Czechoslovakia and help boost necessary reforms.

"Today more than ever we know that this invasion was a gross violation of the principles and rules of international law, the U.N. Charter, the Warsaw Pact and treaties between Czechoslovakia and each country participating in this (military) intervention," the Charter 77 said in a statement. [passage omitted]

"Twenty years later the semblance of lawfulness that the invaders sought to create has completely vanished," the Charter continued. "Up to this day no official personality is known to have called for the military intervention."

The human rights movement added that "August 1968 was not only a disaster" for people in Czechoslovakia.

"We therefore call on you to contribute through your own deliberations, in public discussions, in the press, in petitions and other initiatives to ... help create an atmosphere that would finally make governments in your countries recognize the arbitrariness and unlawfulness" of the intervention.

According to the Charter, the stifling of the Prague Spring also put an end to an "attempt by the Czechoslovak people to reform, democratize and morally renew the fatherland."

The invasion was "an unfortunate and inconsiderate move," the Charter added, as it "stopped or slowed down economic, social and political reforms that were absolutely necessary at the time."

The result was a "strengthened ideological conservatism that led to later crises and stress, stagnation, immobility and moral destruction."

Jakes Receives Socialist Party Officials

LD241015 Prague CTK in English
2039 GMT 23 Mar 88

[Text] Prague March 23 (CTK)—General Secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Milos Jakes received here today a delegation of prominent representatives of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, led by its Chairman Bohuslav Kucera, deputy chairman of the Federal Assembly.

The Socialist Party representatives briefed Milos Jakes on the activities of the party since its ninth national conference and on concrete measures in the elaboration of a document on a higher participation of the National Front and its associated organizations in policy making and control. They expressed full support for the strategic line of the 17th congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and the seventh session of its Central Committee which concentrated on the restructuring of the society and acceleration of its social economic development. Members of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party are aware of their co-responsibility for Czechoslovakia's socialist development and are determined to contribute to it with their working initiatives and social commitment, they underlined.

In a friendly discussion Milos Jakes appreciated the active share of the Socialist Party in the results achieved. The basis of social restructuring is an all-round deepening of socialist democracy, he said, adding that this requires a full development of the democratic character of Czechoslovakia's political system, the core of which is the National Front which must be a platform for a broad exchange of opinions and an organizational basis for uniting the efforts of all strata of the population in the interest of a further development of the country.

Further Reportage on Dascalescu Visit

Strougal Hosts Dinner

AU231901 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
22 Mar 88 p 7

["Speech by Lubomir Strougal," CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and CSSR premier, at the festive dinner given in Constantin Dascalescu's honor in Cernin Palace in Prague on 21 March]

[Text] We have assembled here in Prague on the threshold of spring to critically assess the horizons of our cooperation and simultaneously provide it with the appropriate stimuli and with the acceleration that is so essential. This is in keeping with the program of the society-wide effort pursued by our parties and governments. Permit me to welcome you once again, on behalf of the CPCZ Central Committee and its general secretary, Milos Jakes, on behalf of CSSR President Gustav Husak, and the CSSR Government.

We have met here at a time when we should affirm the ties of friendship between our socialist countries and simultaneously come to an agreement on the business-like content of our collaboration, as formulated in the Long-Term Program for the Development of Economic and Scientific and Technical Cooperation between our two countries through the year 2000. We know that there is bilateral interest in this program, and also the endeavor to fulfill and even overfulfill it, as was demanded during the summit talks last year. However, we also know that we have failed on quite a few points, in spite of the traditions of friendship and the political, social, and cultural ties that have been cultivated for centuries. Here I am thinking about our trade exchange, and particularly about the existing forms of economic cooperation. So far, we have not been able to push through cooperation and specialization in production to any striking degree. We have also had no success in introducing direct relations between enterprises. In brief, we should react far more flexibly to the needs of national economies, in harmony with the strategic line of our Communist Parties. In this context, Czechoslovakia is promoting (and not merely with Romania, but also with other countries of the socialist community) a practical collaboration. This collaboration is one that is economically substantiated and mutually advantageous, but which is at the same time in keeping with the long-term orientation of the CEMA states' efforts and with the processes of restructuring the integration mechanisms that have been decided on by our community.

There can be no doubt that nothing stands in the way of our developing cultural, educational, scientific, and other contacts. By this, I primarily mean greater promptness in the work of the communications media, which expand the horizons of our peoples' knowledge, provide us with incentives for the future, and are our guarantee of the international mutuality that is the true and progressive principle we have followed for decades.

You have come to our country at the beginning of 1988, a year that has raised great hopes in all people of good will. Perhaps balanced relations will finally be established in the world, which is still divided. Perhaps we will really learn to live under the complicated conditions surrounding us. The conclusion of the USSR-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles (and we firmly believe that this will be ratified as soon as possible) must represent a start toward a radical [zasadni] disarmament of nuclear weapons. At present this means strategic weapons in particular. A step will surely be taken toward eliminating chemical weapons and reducing conventional armaments, as we in the Warsaw Pact jointly propose. Nevertheless, there will be many pauses on the road toward equal security and disarmament at the lowest possible level. We want

mankind's march toward a total ban on nuclear weapons and toward collaboration and mutual confidence among the peoples on our planet to be a continuous process.

As a country situated in central Europe, on the borderline between two military (but also political) blocs, Czechoslovakia believes in the philosophy of a united European home, one that could serve as an example for several of the squabbling neighboring continents. That is why (jointly with the GDR Government) we have proposed to the FRG Government the establishment of a zone free of chemical weapons, and the creation of a nuclear-free corridor in central Europe. And now, on the initiative of our CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, a project has been submitted to the United Nations for the gradual establishment of a zone of confidence, cooperation, and good-neighborly relations along the line of contact between the Warsaw Pact and NATO. We also follow with great attention your proposals on the implementation of the principle that the entire Balkan area should also be rid of nuclear and chemical weapons.

I would say that we have now entered a historic period, a period in which we relinquish loud words about peace in order to finally begin working for peace. We trust that this spirit of good will and of the policy of reconciliation will gradually also assert itself in the regions of war, danger, and tension—because, in fact, even the smallest hotbed of war represents a potential danger to the world. Today the world has the duty to concentrate all its energy and all the means at its disposal on resolving global issues such as poverty, the shortage of food and energy, and ecological dangers, which individually and all together make our life difficult, and even threaten the destiny of civilization. At the same time, there can be no doubt about the special role to be played by the socialist community in this sense.

For this reason (but also for other reasons) Czechoslovakia pursues the course of economic reform and democratization. This corresponds to our traditions and to the ideals of February 1948, when we opted in favor of a socialist orientation. We are also mobilizing our people for these bright goals, because we are aware that "one cannot live as in the olden days."

I would like to conclude by expressing the conviction that our deliberations have borne good fruit and that we have reached an agreement on everything that is of substance for the development of our bilateral cooperation, as well as for practical collaboration within the community of CEMA states and among the Warsaw Pact members. We know what we want, and we know the path we will be taking.

Received by Husak

LD231401 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1300 GMT 23 Mar 88

[Text] Gustav Husak, president of the republic, today at Prague Castle received Romanian Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu, who is in Czechoslovakia on an official friendly visit, in the presence of Federal Premier Lubomir Strougal.

In a cordial friendly conversation the two statesmen gave attention to the development of bilateral relations and they exchanged views on some current questions of the international situation. Gustav Husak and Constantin Dascalescu stated with satisfaction that Czechoslovak-Romanian relations are developing in harmony with the agreement on friendship, cooperation and mutual aid and have a achieved a high level. At the same time they emphasized the wish of both sides to continue to widen and deepen contacts in all areas of the life of society and they pointed out the importance of looking for new, higher forms of industrial and scientific and technical cooperation, the implementation of direct contacts, and the widening of cooperation and specialization for the fulfillment of the long term program of economic and scientific-technical cooperation up to the year 2000 adopted by the two countries.

When exchanging views on current international questions they emphasized the vital need for a constructive approach to the complicated realities of the present-day world in the interest of averting the threat of war, ending the arms race, achieving a stable secure future, and solving the global problems of humanity. Gustav Husak and Constantin Dascalescu described the Washington agreement, the first step in the process of nuclear and other disarmament, as decisive on this path. This is also the aim of the Czechoslovak proposal for the creation of a zone of trust, cooperation, and good-neighborly relations on the line of contact between countries of the Warsaw pact and NATO put forward by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, as well as proposals for the creation of nuclear and chemical weapon-free zones in central Europe, and the Romanian proposals put forward by the government to rid the whole of the Balkans of nuclear and chemical weapons.

It was emphasized that during the conduct of their foreign policy both countries will continue to actively contribute to the implementation of efforts by the socialist community in the struggle for world peace, international detente, the introduction of a new just international economic order, and the development of cooperation and understanding between countries with differing social systems.

Further Report

AU231957 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1851 GMT 23 Mar 88

[Text] Prague (AGERPRES) 23/03/1988—On 3 March, President Gustav Husak of the Czechoslovak Socialist

Republic, received Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of Romania, now on an official good-will visit to Czechoslovakia.

The call occasioned an exchange of salutes between President Nicolae Ceausescu and Gustav Husak.

During the interview, Constantin Dascalescu underscored the special attention paid by President Nicolae Ceausescu to multilaterally developing and deepening the relations of friendship and collaboration between Romania and Czechoslovakia, in a spirit of mutual esteem and confidence.

The sides appreciated highly the decisive role played by the understandings agreed upon during the summit interviews for the fruitful evolution of the Romanian-Czechoslovak friendly relations.

Setting forth the ascending course of the relations between the two countries, the sides considered that ample possibilities existed to further improve the level of the bilateral collaboration, particularly in the economic area, in that of cooperation and specialization in production, as well as in the technological and scientific fields. They considered that the potential of the two countries' economies offered prospects for a still more ample collaboration, and in this respect they pointed out that exchanges should attain the one billion rouble mark.

During the interview information was supplied regarding the evolution of the socialist construction in the two countries, and the sides exchanged opinions on some current questions of the international life.

Meets Jakes

AU231750 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1718 GMT 23 Mar 88

[Text] Prague, AGERPRES, 23/3/1988—Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CC of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, received Constantin Dascalescu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, prime minister of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

The call occasioned an exchange of salutes between RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu and Milos Jakes.

During the interview, the sides pointed out the decisive role played in the development of the Romanian-Czechoslovak relations by the decisions and understandings made at summit level, which open fruitful prospects to the amplification of the collaboration between the two countries both in the political plane and in the economic one.

The sides highlighted the fact that wide prospects continue to exist for improving the Romanian-Czechoslovak economic collaboration, which ought to be capitalized to the full, particularly in the area of cooperation and specialization in production, and in that of collaboration in the technological and scientific planes.

The sides considered that the powerful industrial potential of the two countries offered clear prospects for a further expansion of the economic collaboration. Both sides stressed that, starting from the provisions in the long-term programme on the development of the economic, technological and scientific collaboration until the year 2000, signed at summit level late in 1985, opportunities existed for further expanding the cooperation and specialization in production so that the share of mutual deliveries under the cooperation activity should stand at 35 to 40 percent of the volume of bilateral commercial exchanges.

The sides considered that there is a need for a tighter collaboration between the research institutes in the two countries in order to ensure the full materialization of the themes stipulated in the programmes for the years 1986-1990.

During the interview the sides extensively informed each other of the progress of the socialist construction in the two friendly countries and reviewed some of the most topical issues of the international life.

Signs Cooperation Protocol

LD231723 Prague CTK in English
1608 GMT 23 Mar 88

[Text] Prague March 23 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Premier Lubomir Strougal and his Romanian counterpart Constantin Dascalescu met here today for the final round of talks and signed a protocol on the concrete orientation of Czechoslovak-Romanian cooperation.

Both sides agreed that the protocol contains all basic and stimulating conclusions from the talks. The document provides for cooperation between the two countries in the nearest future, especially for new content and forms of cooperation to correspond to the needs of the two countries' national economies, the development of international economic relations in general and the orientation of the CMEA member states towards fundamental restructuring in mutual relations in particular.

A joint communique was issued at the conclusion of the talks.

Holds Final Talks

AU232002 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1920 GMT 23 Mar 88

[Text] Prague (AGERPRES) 23/03/1988—On 23 March a last round of talks proceeded between Romanian Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu and Lubomir Strougal, prime minister of Czechoslovakia.

Considering that the talks proceeded entirely in the spirit of the documents signed at top level, Constantin Dascalescu and Lubomir Strougal expressed their satisfaction at the results of the visit. They asserted the resolve of the two sides to identify new opportunities to develop the cooperation and specialization in production, to work for the implementation of the actions agreed upon.

The results of the visit, of the talks, are included in a communique which is to be released.

On leaving, at the Prague Airport, Constantin Dascalescu was saluted by Lubomir Strougal and other Czechoslovak officials.

Communique Issued

AU232047 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1934 GMT 23 Mar 88

["Communique on the Official Visit of Friendship Paid to the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic by Romanian Premier Constantin Dascalescu"—AGERPRES Headline]

[Text] Prague, AGERPRES, 23/3/1988—The aforesaid document, released at the end of the official visit of friendship Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of Romania, paid to the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic over March 21-23, 1988, shows that during the talks, which passed in an atmosphere of friendship and full understanding, the two prime ministers exchanged information on current problems of socialist construction in the two countries, analysed the development of the Romanian-Czechoslovak relations in the period elapsed since their previous interview and exchanged opinions on major international issues.

The two prime ministers noted with satisfaction the successful development of collaboration between Romania and Czechoslovakia, in line with the treaty of friendship, collaboration and mutual assistance, in the spirit of the documents and decisions adopted at top level, in full concordance with the traditional friendship between the Romanian and Czechoslovak peoples. They underscored the special importance of the meetings and talks between the leaders of the two parties and states, which have given further impetus to the growth of reciprocal collaboration, in line with the fundamental interests of the peoples of the two countries in their advance on the road of progress, of socialism and peace throughout the world.

The two prime ministers noted that the decisions and understandings reached on those occasions were successfully implemented. The Romanian-Czechoslovak political relations develop actively, meetings and experience swaps on a party-, parliament-, government- and mass-and-public-organization-line intensify.

Constantin Dascalescu and Lubomir Strougal made an in-depth analysis of the current stage and of the possibilities of further developing and diversifying economic, technical and scientific collaboration, of commodity exchanges, of cooperation in and specialization of production.

It was pointed out that the long-term programme for the development of economic, technical and scientific collaboration between Romania and Czechoslovakia until the year 2000, signed at top level in December 1985, was a key document for the further expansion of economic relations, on a qualitatively higher base. At the same time, they expressed their belief that the implementation of that programme, which is set on the multiple possibilities and economic potential of the two countries, would provide for the further growth of commodity exchanges, for the expansion and diversification of cooperation in and specialization of production, for a higher efficiency of technical and scientific collaboration. They decided to intensify their efforts for the fulfilment of its provisions.

The two prime ministers expressed their appreciation for the development of economic relations between Romania and Czechoslovakia in the period elapsed since their October 1985 meeting.

They placed particular emphasis on the attainment, in 1986 and 1987, of the largest volumes of commercial exchanges, as well as on the results scored in the development of cooperation in and specialization of production, of technical and scientific collaboration.

The two prime minister underscored the special importance of the coordination of the national economic plans of Romania and Czechoslovakia over 1991-1995 for the further development of economic, technical and scientific collaboration, in line with the provisions under the long-term programme until the year 2000. They highlighted the active cooperation of the two sides in the resolution of the problems occurred in the process of boosting commodity exchanges in the current five-year period, the creation of premises for the development of bilateral economic relations after 1990.

The need was underlined for intensified cooperation in and specialization of production which, in the future, will be the dynamic factor of bilateral economic relations, for the broader application of new and efficient forms of collaboration, for the ensurance of a stable, long-term growth of mutual commodity exchanges. The relevant ministries were assigned the task to provide for the integral fulfilment of the provisions under the understandings on cooperation in and specialization of production in machine building, electrical engineering, electronics, metallurgy, chemistry and other branches, ensuring, on that basis, a rise in mutual long-term deliveries.

The two countries' will was highlighted to work for an intensified collaboration within the CMEA, in the spirit of the resolutions endorsed by the CMEA economic summit and of the complex programme for technical and scientific progress until the year 2000.

Constantin Dascalescu and Lubomir Strougal also examined new possibilities of further developing collaboration in culture, education, art, science, health care, sports, mass media and other areas.

During the visit the two prime minister signed the protocol of the meeting, which enshrines measures for the further development of collaboration between the two countries in the economic field.

Exchanging opinions on the international life, the two prime ministers reiterated their countries' firm determination to work, together with the states participating in the Warsaw Treaty, with the other socialist countries and with all the states of the world that militate for the maintenance of peace, to put an end to the arms race, to the nuclear arms race in the first place, to achieve disarmament, to resume and further the policy of detente, peace and collaboration, to settle all issues by peaceful means, through negotiations, to build a new international economic order.

The two prime ministers expressed their satisfaction at the results of the official visit of friendship and at the talks conducted and considered they would contribute to the further strengthening of the relations of friendship and manysided collaboration between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, between the peoples of the two countries.

The communique shows that Romanian Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu invited the prime minister of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, Lubomir Strougal, to pay an official visit of friendship to Romania. The invitation was accepted with pleasure.

More on Talks

LD231846 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1700 GMT 23 Mar 88

[Text] The communique adopted on the visit by the Romanian Premier Constantin Dascalescu to Czechoslovakia states that during his talks with Federal Premier Lubomir Strougal, both officials briefed each other on the current tasks of building socialism in their countries. They reviewed the development of bilateral relations, and exchanged views on the most important international issues.

They noted with satisfaction that cooperation between Czechoslovakia and Romania was developing successfully. At the same time, they analysed the current state of economic, scientific, and technical cooperation, trade exchange, cooperation and specialization, and possibilities for further developing and expanding this cooperation. They stressed that the fundamental and defining document for the further development of mutual economic relations at a qualitatively higher level was the long-term program for the development of economic, scientific, and technical cooperation between Czechoslovakia and Romania up to the year 2000. They expressed the conviction that the implementation of this program would ensure an increase in the mutual exchange of goods and the deepening and expansion of cooperation and specialization of production, and greater effectiveness in scientific and technical cooperation. To this end, they decided to step up efforts to fulfill the program. Lubomir Strougal and Constantin Dascalescu confirmed the readiness of both countries to intensify cooperation within the framework of CEMA.

They went on to exchange views on the international situation. They also reaffirmed the staunch determination of their countries, together with other Warsaw Pact member countries, other socialist countries, and all the states of the world that are fighting to preserve peace, to work to stop the arms race, above all the nuclear arms race, to achieve disarmament, to renew and continue the policy of detente, peace, and cooperation, to settle all problems in a peaceful manner, and to build a new international economic order.

Leaves for Home

LD231635 Prague CTK in English 1554 GMT 23 Mar 88

[Text] Prague March 23 (CTK)—Romanian Premier Constantin Dascalescu ended his three-day official visit to Czechoslovakia and left here for home today.

The visit took place at the invitation of his Czechoslovak counterpart Lubomir Strougal.

Commentary on USSR-SFRY Declaration

AU231306 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 21 Mar 88 p 6

[Milan Jelinek commentary in the "We Comment" column: "Value of Experience"]

[Text] "Socialism is at a revolutionary stage. It is standing on the threshold of the more absolute use of material and spiritual potential than to date and on the threshold of the further intensification of humanitarian foundations. The processes of reform and radical change in socialist countries confirm that socialism is viable and that it is prepared to accept the challenge of the times." This is one of the thoughts contained in the Soviet-Yugoslav declaration adopted during M. Gorbachev's visit to Belgrade—a thought expressing and generalizing the development that a number of socialist states are

now demonstrably undergoing and that is attracting worldwide interest. Yes, the crux of the matter lies in the new, qualitative changes taking place in the world of socialism.

Our present situation confirms Karl Marx's theoretical discovery that socialism will go through a stage of maturity. The socialist social system is not a finished entity, something valid "for all times." Socialism is being, and will be, improved and perfected on its own foundations. This makes it necessary to discover (objectively, on scientific foundations, and by interlinking theoretical and practical activities) both what is "old," and also what is the "new" that will replace it. This will not happen without a collective approach, without the full use of the spiritual and material potential of socialist states.

Mutually advantageous cooperation based on equal rights, the ability to accept all that is best in the experience accumulated by others, one's own endeavor to pay this back in kind, the knowledge that I, too, will benefit if my friend prospers—the socialist states are innovatively incorporating all these (and also many other) ideas in their relations.

We have here a process, an interlinking of multilateral contacts. Each stage of socialist cooperation is quite objectively building the foundations for further stages.

Relations between socialist states are based on the principles of mutual respect, independence, noninterference, equal rights, and mutually advantageous cooperation. Such is the creed followed by the CPSU in its current policy, which proceeds from the new edition of its third program and from the resolutions of its 27th Congress. In fact, last year M. Gorbachev recalled these principles during his Prague visit, and our party fully identifies with them.

The dialogue is one of the well-proven instruments (as stressed by the declaration) leading us toward our goal. No correct solution can be achieved without discussion. Experience in the practical realization of socialist construction is essential.

However, experience is born solely out of respect for the principle that every socialist country is entitled to choose the road of socialist construction that it thinks corresponds to its own specific historical conditions. Moreover, nobody has a monopoly on truth. In socialism, truth is born in a joint search and joint work. Socialist construction is the discovery and birth of something new—which is always a most difficult feat, one in which errors and mistakes cannot be excluded. However, the main thing is the development and enrichment of Marxist-Leninist knowledge, the enforcement of scientific laws and logic (discovered by our revolutionary doctrine) in practical life, via a policy that is (and must be, so as not to lead to mistakes) in harmony with these social laws. These laws exist, they are valid—this has been proved by the history and present of socialism, by the penetration and assertion of its ideas on a worldwide scale. Nevertheless, these laws, which reveal the moving forces in the development of human society, cannot assert themselves automatically—they can be asserted only through the people's activities. That is why the experience accumulated by individual members of our movement in the course of their building socialism is of such a tremendous and fundamental significance.

"Every road toward socialism is tested by sociopolitical practices and affirmed by specific results," the Soviet-Yugoslav declaration states.

Let us stress that socialist construction can be successful only if every party takes care not merely of its own interests, but also of our common interests.

Socialist self-management is closely linked to socialist democracy. We in Czechoslovakia also regard the development of socialist self-management as part of the qualitative transformations in all spheres of social life. Every socialist country was, is, and will be playing a pioneer role in some sphere of discovering the new. For instance, the Czechoslovak cooperative system, our system of social insurance, represents interesting examples for many other countries. Our friends observe them with interest, in the same way that we observe their experience. Yugoslavia's self-management is another such example—with all its successes and failures, which our Yugoslav friends do, in fact, frankly and instructively talk about themselves.

We have declared on many occasions that we regard the restructuring policy initiated and carried out by the CPSU as an example of a generally stimulating experience. It represents a development of socialism on both the theoretical and the practical level, and its nature is revolutionary. The experience generated by it has therefore a far more than national significance—it is a part of the whole. In his book "Restructuring and New Thinking," M. Gorbachev wrote—both for our own country, and also for the whole world: "We are drawing on the experience of our friends. On the other hand they are taking over from us what suits them. Briefly, it is a process of mutual exchange and mutual enrichment."

This is an appropriate answer to anybody asking about the value of experience.

Gorbachev's SFRY Visit Praised

AU231254 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 22 Mar 88 p 7

[Julius Loerincz commentary: "Stimuli from Belgrade"]

[Text] Last week's official, friendly visit by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to Yugoslavia was anything but a commonplace event. Although it is primarily its exceptional importance for the development of bilateral Soviet-Yugoslav

political and economic relations that is beyond dispute, it would evidently be wrong to speak about it just on this plane. After all, addressing the SFRY Assembly, the highest Soviet representative put forward important initiatives to ease tension and lower the level of military confrontation in the very sensitive region of the Mediterranean. Let us recall: M. Gorbachev proposed (as a supplement to previous Soviet initiatives to lower military potentials in the Mediterranean) the early and flexible implementation of: First, a freeze on the number of military vessels and the potentials of the USSR and U.S. Navies in the Mediterranean as of 1 July this year, to be followed by the fixing of ceilings. Second, that the USSR and the United States notify each other and all countries of the Mediterranean in advance of all transfers of their warships and of military exercises. Third, that principles and methods be worked out, with the participation of Mediterranean and other interested countries, of safeguarding the safety of naval routes, especially in international channels.

Obviously, it is not hard to comprehend the far-reaching significance of these initiatives for the stabilization of the situation in an area of such unusual strategic sensitivity and importance as the Mediterranean, the point of intersection of Europe, Asia, and Africa. M. Gorbachev said about this region: "Nowhere, evidently, are the common fate of peoples and the internal dependence and integration of the contemporary world to be felt as strongly." In this connection the Soviet side expressed its readiness to provide all guarantees to the zone without nuclear and chemical weapons that should be formed in the Balkans.

However, M. Gorbachev's trip to Yugoslavia had yet another dimension, by virtue of which it went beyond the impact and the importance of a bilateral affair. This dimension concerns world socialism—the stimulus provided by his talks for relations among socialist states and for the process of democratizing international life in general. Even the Belgrade declaration of 1955 and the Moscow declaration of 1956 enshrined unconditional respect for the specific features of the ways and forms of socialist development and for differences in the international standing of the two countries. Yet, nonetheless, the situation in which these matters and the universal principles of relations (mutual respect for independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity, equality, and noninterference in internal affairs) were discussed in Yugoslavia last week was different from the situation of more than 30 years ago. Speaking in the SFRY Assembly, Comrade M. Gorbachev clearly and unequivocally stressed that the charges raised against the LCY in 1948 were unfounded and he added: "The conflict that arose did great damage to Yugoslavia, the Soviet Union, and also to the cause of socialism." The tension, suspicion, and distrust and the feeling of having been hurt that resulted from this should not burden us any longer.

Now, in the late 20th century, world socialism goes through a period of reconstruction and reforms, to use the words of the leading Soviet representative. And we all feel the need to renew the mechanism of interaction among socialist countries and to make it more efficient. Moreover, as is stressed in the latest Soviet-Yugoslav declaration, "the processes of reforms and radical changes in the socialist countries confirm the viability of socialism and its readiness to respond to the challenges of the time."

True, no one has ready-made and foolproof recipes in this regard. This is also demonstrated by the experiences acquired thus far, the good and the bad ones alike; for example, by the experience with the application of socialist self-management. However, partial setbacks must not make us forsake self-management altogether and give up its application and improvement, be it in Yugoslavia, the Soviet Union, in our country, or in other socialist countries. It undoubtedly holds true that the success of each path toward socialism is tested by the socioeconomic practice and confirmed by specific results.

M. Gorbachev's official, friendly visit to Yugoslavia last week brought with great urgency to mind that socialism is at a turning point, in a stage that is not easy, at the threshold of a more complete utilization of its potentials. At the same time, it served as an active stimulus to realize (and to act accordingly) that the future of mankind hinges to a great extent on socialism, on the ability of all progressive and democratic forces to reply to many new questions.

More on Detention of Tatra Crew in Guatemala

Ambassador Lodges Protest

AU231811 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 21 Mar 88 p 1

[CTK, "ZR"-signed report: "Czechoslovak Tatra Crew Detained in Guatemala; All Five Members of the Expedition in a Military Prison"]

[Text] Guatemala/Mexico (CTK, ZR)—The five-member crew of the Czechoslovak Tatra truck that has been on an expedition around the world for a year now was unlawfully detained in the El Peten area in Guatemala on Thursday [17 March], as press agencies reported Friday [18 March] night. According to the agency PRENSA LATINA, the area is one in which Guatemalan partisans from the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity operate.

The crew, which until now has passed through dozens of countries virtually without complication in fulfilling its mission, was detained by the Guatemalan Army while crossing the border from Belize to Guatemala. A spokesman for the Guatemalan Army accused the expedition members of "illegal activities" because appliances were found in the truck that had not been declared when they entered the country. The Tatra crew also allegedly violated Guatemalan laws by using a hang glider without permission.

Zdenek Dlesk, Czechoslovak ambassador in Nicaragua (the Czechoslovak Embassy in Managua represents our interests in Guatemala), lodged a sharp protest with the Guatemalan authorities and demanded the speedy release of the Czechoslovak citizens. In an interview for Czechoslovak Television on Sunday [20 March], he said:

"After receiving the news about the detainment of our Tatra crew, we immediately contacted the Guatemalan Embassy in Managua. After consulting the Guatemalan authorities by telephone, Ambassador M. Gonzales told me during a personal meeting that the crew had been detained at the Melchor de Mencos border crossing between Belize and Guatemala, near the largest site of the old Mayan culture. According to available information, they are being detained by Guatemalan Army units which, together with the right-wing press, speak of suspected espionage. They are now in the central barracks in the capital of Guatemala. According to information provided by the Guatemalan Embassy, they are in a thoroughly good state of health. The Tatra truck is at the same location and is being subjected to a detailed examination, just like the material, especially the photographic material, it carries. However, representatives of the Guatemalan Ministry of Foreign Affairs say that the detention is only connected with the fact that, during the customs inspection, the crew did not declare its photographic material and articles, the nature of which is reminiscent of military material.

"According to Guatemalan Army spokesman Roberto Letona, in addition to their Czechoslovak passports, the crew allegedly also carried other passports bearing their names. I strictly denied this accusation and asked the ambassador for assistance and cooperation in clarifying this matter. He assured me fully that he would try to be as helpful as possible in this matter. We are in constant contact with the Guatemalan Embassy in Managua and with our Ministry of Foreign Affairs and will keep the Czechoslovak public informed in detail about the whole affair."

RUDE PRAVO Commentary

AU240938 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 21 Mar 88 p 6

[Miroslav Fladr commentary: "Groundless Accusations"]

[Text] What has happened at the border between Guatemala and Belize is without parallel in the year-long, round the world expedition of the Czechoslovak Tatra crew. At virtually every place the five-member Czechoslovak crew passed, it has met with sympathy and interest. No country (except for a conflict with U.S. customs officials on crossing the border to Mexico) took incorrect, let alone, hostile action against the truck's crew. All the more startling is thus the action taken by the Guatemalan authorities, which cannot but be assesed as an arbitrary act and outright provocation. The entire trip had been agreed upon in advance with all countries concerned (including Guatemala), to ensure trouble-free passage.

In addition to its mission to give publicity to and to present the skills of our producers as well as its scientific objectives, the "Tatra Round the World" expedition also has a peace mission. All the more astonishing is the fact that our people have been labeled by the local right-wing press as "spies," that a campaign has been launched against them, and that they have almost been called "enemies of the regime." The accusation made by a Guatemalan Army spokesman (cited by the agency PRENSA LATINA) that they had on them "equipment that can be used also for military purposes" are completely groundless. The Tatra truck's equipment consists exclusively of publicity, tourist, and other materials essential for the fulfillment of the expedition's aforesaid mission and of nothing else. The arguments used by certain Guatemalan circles, about which we write at a different place, are almost ridiculous.

However, the entire affair is far from humorous. The attempt to use the detention of our people and their interrogation in army barracks in the Guatemalan capital are a gross violation of international customs and law. The question also presents itself whether the Guatemalan Government does not want to capitalize on the entire affair politically and use it also against Guatemalan partisans of the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity who, according to PRENSA LATINA, are operating in the area. This seemingly absurd combination is not so absurd in the light of the absurdity of the Guatemalan steps, taken by the local authorities against our citizens.

Official Statement 22 Mar

AU240937 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 22 Mar 88 p 7

[CTK report: "Demand for the Release of the Unlawfully Detained; Statement by the Press Spokesman for the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs"]

[Text] Prague (CTK)—On Thursday, 17 March, the Guatemalan Army detained the entire 5-member crew of a Czechoslovak Tatra truck, which has for a year been on an expedition around the world, as it was crossing the border from Belize to Guatemala. Following its unlawful detention, the truck's crew was transferred to the central barracks in the Guatemalan capital. This is also where the special Tatra truck is situated. The truck is currently being subjected to thorough examination, along with all its accessories, equipment, and photographic material.

Ever since Friday night when foreign press agencies reported the detention of the Czechoslovak citizens by Guatemalan Army units, the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs has been continuously following the whole affair.

It is in constant contact with the Czechoslovak representative missions in the Republic of Nicaragua and in the United Mexican States, through which it seeks the immediate release of the unlawfully detained Czechoslovak citizens and the return of all their equipment and gear, Dusan Rovensky, press spokesman for the CSSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, declared yesterday.

Contacts with the Guatemalan Government are realized through the mediation of the Czechoslovak representative missions in Managua and Mexico because the CSSR and the Republic of Guatemala do not have a direct diplomatic representation. Both representative missions are now in contact with the Guatemalan authorities in order to clarify the circumstances of the unlawful detention of the members of the crew of the Tatra truck, refute the unfounded accusations, and being about the release of the Czechoslovak citizens. Their speedy release has already been demanded by the Czechoslovak ambassador in Managua, who, on instructions from the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs, has lodged a sharp protest with the Guatemalan authorities through Guatemala's diplomatic mission in Nicaragua.

To speed up the negotiations with the Guatemalan side, the Czechoslovak Consul in Mexico has been ordered to leave immediately for the Guatemalan capital to establish contact with the detained crew members and seek their immediate release in direct negotiations.

We categorically deny as unfounded all accusations alleging that that the Czechoslovak expedition has any other aims but to promote the products of the Czechoslovak car industry, and, by the same token, the CSSR, and to acquaint our public with the countries being visited. The Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs continues to monitor the development of the situation and will take all necessary measures to protect the interests and rights of Czechoslovak citizens, the press spokesman for the CSSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs stressed.

Guatemala's Cerezo Makes Statement

LD241034 Prague CTK in English
2048 GMT 23 Mar 88

[Text] Guatemala City March 23 (CTK)—Guatemalan President Vinicio Cerezo told journalists today that the detention of the five-man crew of the Czechoslovak Tatra expedition must be solved by diplomatic and political means.

He said the Guatemalan Government has so far received no official protest from the Czechoslovak Government in connection with the detention of the Tatra crew. He said that on the reception of such a protest the Guatemalan Government would present its standpoint.

The special correspondent of Czechoslovak television here said that Czechoslovakia's ambassador to Nicaragua Zdenek Dlesk is expected in Guatelama tomorrow to ask for an immediate release of the detained Tatra crew.

Closure of PLO Office in U.S. Protested

AU231740 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
22 Mar 88 p 7

[CTK New York dispatch: "UN: Czechoslovak Representative on U.S. High-handedness"]

[Text] New York (CTK correspondent)—The Czechoslovak delegation is shocked at the overt resolution of the United States to push through its will and to close the PLO's observer mission in the UN, Ambassador Evzen Zapotocky, standing representative of the CSSR in the UN, declared at the Monday [21 March] session of the UN General Assembly.

He pointed out that the arrogant behavior of a state that had been entrusted by the UN with the task of being its host country and which, moreover, is a permanent member of the UN Security Council, cannot be tolerated.

The decision to close the PLO mission is another obstacle to the UN's efforts to settle the situation in the Middle East, and greatly contradicts the goals of the UN Charter, E. Zapotocky said.

Conversion of Waren Missile Site Begins

FDGB Takes Over

LD231501 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1410 GMT 23 Mar 88

[Text] Waren, 23 Mar (ADN)—In the Mecklenburg town of Waren a meeting of hundreds of working people and members of the National People's Army (NVA) is currently taking place.

At the start of the meeting GDR Defense Minister Army General Heinz Kessler handed over the former site for Soviet intermediate- and shorter-range missiles to the FDGB holiday service and handed FDGB National Executive Chairman Harry Tisch a document concerning this from the GDR government.

On behalf of the over 9.5 million GDR trade unionists, Harry Tisch expressed cordial thanks for the holiday site to the SED Central Committee and its general secretary, Erich Honecker, and the government of the GDR.

Vacation Center Planned

LD231758 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1550 GMT 23 Mar 88

[Excerpt] Waren, 23 Mar (ADN)—GDR Defense Minister Heinz Kessler handed over the former site of the Soviet shorter-range INF missiles in Waren (Neubrandenburg Bezirk) to Harry Tisch, chairman of the GDR trade union confederation FDGB on Wednesday for use as a vacation center.

"With the handing-over of the Waren site as an FDGB vacation center, the GDR party and state leadership is demonstrating its determination to ensure that the results of the disarmament measures are immediately put to good effect in improving the living conditions of our country's citizens," states a certificate signed by Prime Minister Willi Stoph, which Army General Heinz Kessler read out.

At the meeting, Harry Tisch pointed out that the shorter-range Soviet missiles had been brought there because NATO began in 1983 to station Pershing 2 and cruise missiles in Western Europe, especially in the FRG. As a result, the Warsaw Pact states were forced to modernize their arms. It was not a step taken gladly, but it was necessary in order to reliably guarantee the security of the socialist community of states. Our party, said Tisch, has called on us to struggle even more resolutely for disarmament and peace.

It is clearly demonstrated here today, said Harry Tisch, how in socialism, disarmament has immediate benefits for people and their welfare. Peace, work, and socially secure conditions are fundamental conditions for a dignified existence.

For us, the fundamental human right to a life in peace is paramount, he said. We respect and implement human rights in that we guarantee full employment, social security, broad democratic participation, and good and expanding conditions for recuperative vacations and leisure pursuits. This indivisible connection between a strong socialism and a secure peace is also reflected in our motto: "My workplace, my battle station for peace."

We have always supported peace with our hearts and minds. This is also served by the proposed international meeting in the GDR in 1988 for nuclear weapons-free zones. This has shaped our actions at all times, and continues to do so. All the poison aimed at socialism in our country, I will state quite openly, is incitement, lies, and slander, Harry Tisch said.

Mikhail Gorbachev submitted further peace proposals for the Mediterranean region in his speech in Belgrade a week ago. More and more proposals and initiatives are emanating from the Soviet Union and the other socialist community states, aimed at bringing a world of peace closer to mankind.

By contrast, the most aggressive circles in NATO are devoting themselves to the modernization of nuclear weapons and the creation of new weapons. The production of dangerous new chemical weapons has begun in the United States. Our position, on the other hand, is to advance from one zero option to another so that the world is free of nuclear weapons by the end of the century, said Tisch.

Without wanting to interfere anywhere, we must pose the question: Could this not also cause the Western countries to consider how the elimination of the medium-range missiles could be turned into a practical social benefit for working people? When we look to the west of the Elbe and Werra, we see continuing high mass unemployment there, the individual's increasing fear for his existence, the rigorous dismantling of social services, and the expansion of the new poverty as determining signs of the times. Instead of increasing military expenditure, the money should be used to make the lives of people easier. We know that this corresponds with many demands raised by trade union colleagues in the capitalist states.

Harry Tisch gave an assurance that the first holidaymakers would move into this new home as early as the beginning of July. The FDGB will then have at its disposal more than 695 vacation homes. [passage omitted]

Journalists Tour Site

LD231854 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1313 GMT 23 Mar 88

[By ADN Editors Peter Heinze and Ekkehard Beisker]

[Text] Waren, 23 Mar (ADN)—On Wednesday, journalists from throughout the world had the opportunity—immediately prior to the handing over of the National

People's Army [NVA] site in Waren-Mueritz to the FDGB as a holiday home—to take a close look at the facilities of the Soviet missile brigade that was stationed here until a few days ago. The brigade was withdrawn to the Soviet Union earlier than originally envisaged for the destruction of the medium-range missiles of the shorter-range (SS-12) OTR-22 type.

The reporters, photographers, and cameramen saw first of all the living quarters of the soldiers and their families, and the barracks at the site, which was handed over for use by the Soviet Army in December 1983. In the mess area, with the dining halls, the journalists were given details by Colonel Guenter Heintze from the GDR Defense Ministry.

The way then led to the parking and technical zone of the Soviet missile brigade. Garages for maintenance work were to be seen along 2 sides of a broad paved area. Only about 1 month ago, the Soviet missile troops [preceding word in Russian "raketchiki"] demonstrated their mastery to GDR journalists at this very site. In the shortest possible time they made ready for combat one of the 12.38-meter surface-to-surface missiles with a 900-km range.

On the service and repair buildings, Cyrillic letters recall the former users. Six entrances, some of outsize proportions for the mobile four-axle launching ramps weighing a total of 30,800 kg, and high structures indicate that the engineering personnel could also work on the raised missiles.

The representatives of the press, radio, and television stations noted with interest that a separator was used to clean accumulated dirty water for repeated use in order to avoid danger to the water table and environment.

In the lightly covered garages for general vehicles, oil and tire marks are still visible from the vehicles recently accomodated. The light steel doors were open for photographers and camera crews. In February, the last Soviet OTR-22 (SS-12) missile was "packed" here in a transport container. It has, meanwhile, arrived in Kazakhstan for destruction, like other missiles of this type formerly deployed in the GDR.

NVA officers spoke about the future application of these rooms for storage purposes. After the ratification of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, U.S. inspectors will be able to see in Waren that the Soviet Union, the GDR, and the other allies are realizing nuclear disarmament according to the treaty.

The international press then had their first-ever opportunity to view the former storage areas for the troop unit's warheads, which also have been withdrawn.

It became clear that the site was secured with the highest military vigilance. Immediately outside the prohibited zone stood a training and duty building. The warheads were kept in two bunkers protected by strong concrete walls and several-meter high earth embankments. These bunkers are around 25 meters long and 5 meters high, with temperature regulators, fire alarms, ventilation, as well as pressure doors made of steel and concrete. On each door, one can still read in Russian "Duty." Outside both bunkers are two covered ramps, in camouflage colors and overgrown with turf and shrubs.

The missile troops were accomodated in the now-empty barracks for more than 3 years.

The journalists present, from 16 countries and from West Berlin, were able to ask questions and inform themselves about everything that interested them. NVA officers answered questions regarding details of the development of the deployment site for the OTR-22 missiles, its use by the members of the Soviet Army, and its future use.

In a conversation, several correspondents, including the representatives of the RHEINISCHE POST, the NEUE RUHRZEITUNG, and the Vienna KURIER assessed the premature withdrawal of intermediate-range missiles as an important step toward securing peace. The press representatives acknowledged the generous information about the former missile base.

Soviet Missile Withdrawal Assessed

AU231527 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 21 Mar 88 p 2

["NG" commentary: "Deeds and Proposals"]

[Text] Even before the 8 December 1987 Soviet-U.S.treaty has come into force, the withdrawal of the Soviet shorter-range missiles deployed in the GDR was concluded with the last railway consignment—as reported on page 1—in accordance with the GDR-USSR agreement. The missiles that were stationed in the CSSR were also removed ahead of schedule.

This has again demonstrated to the whole world how serious the socialist states are about disarmament. They stand by their word and seal it with deeds. Over the past year the USSR, the GDR, and CSSR made considerable efforts to bring about the Washington agreement on the elimination of intermediate-range missiles of the longer and shorter range spectrum. Now they are doing everything they can to ensure that the agreement takes effect as soon as possible, so that after ratification it can be implemented in letter and spirit. They are working to ensure that the first USSR-U.S. disarmament treaty will be followed by an agreement on the 50-percent reduction of the strategic nuclear potentials while observing the ABM Treaty. And they advocate the extension of disarmament to other spheres.

The diplomatic activities of the last few days also bear testimony to their active peace policy. In Belgrade Mikhail Gorbachev submitted new proposals aimed at strengthening peace in the Mediterranean. In Bern the USSR and U.S. defense ministers met for the first time in decades. In New York the permanent GDR representative handed over to the UN secretary general Erich Honecker's call for the international meeting on nuclear-free zones, due to take plane in Berlin in June.

All these proposals and meetings are designed to promote the cause of peace and disarmament, and to take further steps toward the improvement of the international situation.

Potsdam Delegation Cancels Bonn Visit
LD240955 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1637 GMT 23 Mar 88

[Text] Potsdam, 23 March (ADN)—Wilfried Seidel, mayor of Potsdam, has cancelled a visit by a Potsdam City Assembly delegation to its twin town Bonn, planned for the end of April, because of remarks in which the Bonn's Mayor Daniels equated Potsdam with Johannesburg, and the GDR with the racist regime in South Africa.

Mayor Seidel informed Bonn on Tuesday that under these circumstances the representatives of his city cannot be expected to visit Bonn. Daniels' remarks violate once again in a flagrant way the agreement on town twinning, which says that he should serve "the securing of peace and the development of good-neighborly relations between the GDR and the FRG." This agreement bears the signatures of both mayors.

Party Periodical Editors Meet in Berlin
LD222119 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1729 GMT 22 Mar 88

[Text] Berlin, 22 Mar ADN—A 2-day consultation of the chief editors of theoretical and political periodicals of Communist and workers' parties opened in Berlin on Tuesday. It is being held under the motto "Socialism and the new Stage of the Scientific-Technical Revolution." The participants are discussing how the ideological and theoretical work of the periodicals can help to promote scientific-technical progress in practical terms and clarify ideological questions which may arise.

The editor-in-chief of the host periodical EINHEIT, Manfred Banaschak, on behalf of the SED Central Committee welcomed delegations from Ethiopia, Bulgaria, the CSSR, the GDR, the PDRY, the DPRK, Cuba, Laos, the MPR, Poland, Romania, the Soviet Union, Hungary, and Vietnam, as well as representatives of the international periodical PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM. The further development of the scientific-technical revolution and the parties' approach to mastering it was of strategic importance for the future of socialism and the positions of socialism, he said.

Paper Views Debate on Reform, Renewal

AU241131 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 19 Mar 88 p 3

[Article by Janos Barabas: "After the Debates"]

[Text] The decisions of the responsible leading forums in the wake of the recently concluded party debates are awaited with great interest, an intensive mood for debate, and intensified political public life. No one denies that time is running out. A united party must act to bring about renewal in the coming months. It is not useless to recall that the analysis of the situation at the Central Committee meeting of November 1986 opened the way to the formulation of the party program. Today, we already know that, in analyzing the road that led to the present situation, we must do more in bringing the causes and the underlying connections to the surface. But the program itself and action are even more important than this—a program that emerged in the summer of 1987 as a plan for social and economic development and which, in terms of its social political content, probably still shows the only possible correct way. From an economic viewpoint, too, this program assumed a practical aspect at the National Assembly session of September 1987, when the deputies unanimously adopted the government's economic stabilization program.

The following question already arose at that time: Is the order of the words economic and social in the title of the party position correct? Would it not be logical to place the word "social" at the beginning? Today, we already know that the decision to give priority to the economic tasks in the title of the government work program was correct, and also contained some self-criticism, because the content of the work program is also decisively economic in nature, although, no doubt, it also refers to the social policy requirements.

Logical Sequence [subhead]

The pressing need to enrich this program by including a social policy in accordance with a logical sequence and to complete and strengthen the economic policy and economic management tasks so that they acquire a sociopolitical nature has become increasingly evident in recent months. Therefore, we must make a realistic program out of the tasks connected with the party's renewal, the reorganization of its leading role, the reform of the system of political institutions, and the renewal of ideological work. We must turn the various positions that emerged during the party debates into a plan of action and we must adjust these positions to the economic stabilization tasks that have been formulated in more detail and to the development tasks that, naturally, have been formulated more generally. No doubt, the party conference, which is due to convene in the first half of the current year, will accept and fulfill this task.

There can be no doubt that the party must lead the process of formulating the social policy program. More consistent awareness of past mistakes is a precondition for this role. A serious and honest analysis of the situation cannot lead to some sort of reveries about the past. The frequency with which one hears about the dialectics of continuity and renewal, and of continuity and a complete break is justified. Today, an increasing number of participants in debates recognize that, under current conditions, one must stress the second element of the first of the aforementioned opposing dialectic pairs of elements: renewal. As to the second pair of opposing dialectic elements, this situation is less frequently subject to thorough consideration. There are people who think that elementary interests concerning the preservation of social stability require that continuity be stressed. In fact, in the second of the aforementioned pair of opposing dialectic elements, one should also stress the second element, a complete break, the conscious halting of processes that lead in the wrong direction. One of the lessons drawn from the debates is precisely the fact that exaggerated adherence to continuity and to stressing this continuity primarily or exclusively today erodes confidence and weakens the consensus. We can preserve social stability and reform consensus only if we accept changes, the breaking of improperly connected chain links, and a renewal on all levels and in all spheres of society's life. Of course, it must also be considered that this purpose should be reflected in further renewal under way in various leading positions. [Termeszetesen, az sem mellekes, hogy ezt a szandekot a kulonfele vezeto posztokon vegbemeno tovabbi megujulas is hiteles.]

Comprehensive Reform [subhead]

The following question has often emerged in the debates of recent weeks: How much more should we renew ourselves in order to be really renewed? Should we not take into consideration the fact that, along with our ability to tolerate economic tensions, our tolerance toward the changes in our values and ideology is not boundless, either? The question itself indicates that public opinion is far from being as united in its desire for reform as transpires from recent public declarations. One can presume that, if there is a will to implement real and comprehensive reform measures that are fundamental and truly far-reaching, this pseudo-unity will again break up and the political forces and social groups which indeed support the firm and comprehensive changes will become more clearly visible.

Some scientific publications have already taken into account the lessons of the last 20 years in the history of our reform. These show the extent of the deliberate restrictions the large-scale economic reform process imposed on itself at the start, a process that, at the time, seldom dared even to call itself "reform." At the time, the unfavorable international circumstances and the many imaginary or real internal limitations did not make it possible for a really reform-oriented public opinion to

emerge. The changes that took place in the seventies served more to strengthen the opposition to reform, than to encourage a democratic approach which clearly bore in mind the social effects of various economic measures. After years of uncertain, inconsistent, and often ambiguous positions, only in the recent past did it begin to recognized that, unless the reform covers the whole area of society's life, it cannot be successful in the economic area either. Of course, the reform measures must be well thought out and the time must be due for them, but the efforts to implement them must not make us forget that the total effect of such measures must, in different periods, go beyond what is merely apparent.

Facing the Past [subhead]

In order to coordinate our measures, we must analyze the past of socialism more thoroughly by making use of the potential for renewal inherent in the reform thinking under way in the Soviet Union and in China. The comprehensive renewal under way in the Soviet Union is increasingly advancing in "admitting" historical facts. Perhaps it is not vain to hope that the mercilessly open analysis of the lessons of the past will soon become an internationally accepted process. Then we will probably be able to face the harsh truth that we still have a long way to go in fully discarding Stalin's heritage. Today, we are increasingly aware that the phenomenon called Stalinism—in the absence of a better formulation—was not simply a period of personality cult or severe injustice, terrible crimes, and irrational tyranny. Of course, the foreign threat and the laying of the economic foundations of socialism required various approaches and methods that changed with the times. It is also obvious that the severe distortions and crimes do not change the fundamentally socialist character and content of the 70 years of socialist construction.

Today the process of analysis in fact begins when we admit the extent of Stalinist-type solutions in the political mechanism and economic structure of the socialist countries, or in the internal life of communist and workers' parties. With great efforts, the majority of socialist countries have succeeded in eliminating the personality cult and the severe violations of the law. It seems, however, that the so called Soviet pattern of socialism, both in the Soviet Union and in the socialist countries in Eastern Europe, is still far from exceeding the paternalist reflexes of bureaucratic centralism. We have not yet discarded our trust in the beneficial omnipotence of the central state and party power, in spite of the various measures for decentralization and democratic reform that were implemented to varying extents. When we come across cases in which a political, state, and party power of a centralizing nature does not mesh with the gears of the self-organizing movements and community forms of the general society, there we encounter traces of Stalinist bureaucratic structures. To give an example, it is enough to remember how long we regarded state ownership as the "most socialist" form of property, state ownership that has so far been so unsuccessful in proving its effectiveness. It is, therefore, difficult to argue with the fact that, in analyzing the so-called Soviet or East European model of socialism, an attentive observer still encounters bureaucratic elements that emerged in the Stalinist period in many essential spheres, rather than the creative transmittal of the substance of the original Leninist heritage. In any case, this definitely hinders the process of comprehensive renewal.

Pluralism of Interests [subhead]

The stakes are high. Mikhail Gorbachev is right in claiming that socialism's appeal has decreased in recent decades; the effect of the Soviet Union and of the socialist countries on world development has diminished. Today the risk facing the socialist countries in Europe is the danger of permanently lagging behind the forefront of scientific, technological, and general world economic development. This is both the opposite of and the risk involved in the comprehensive renewal of socialism, and of this reform of socialism that involves revolutionary changes. Therefore, we must also carry out a comprehensive and complete elimination of Stalinist structures and mechanisms.

The party debates held in recent weeks have also been very useful in that the time has come to stop meditating about the broadening of "democratism." In the forefront of the renewal of party and state life and of the activity of movements, associations, and public organizations, we must place democracy and the assertion of its full socialist forms, rather than some sort of "democratism." The differences of opinion among various strata and groupings of society also appear in the political sphere. It is, therefore, justified to also assert the pluralist nature of interests in the political sphere.

In our debates, we can express our conviction that, according to our current knowledge, a multiparty system is not the only way to achieve this goal. It seems that the party's internal democracy, the guarantees of its capacity of self-correction, the democratic organization of state life, and the wide network of various movements, associations, and federations and their constitutional rights can all politically reflect pluralistic interests without the revival of some sort of outdated party struggle for power.

Democracy means order and discipline, as well as responsibility and wide publicity. Publicity does not just mean an imaginary—but nonexistent—complete lack of restriction for the press, radio, and television. There is more at issue here, namely, the public treatment of everyday affairs and the fact that, precisely in order to develop the citizens' readiness to act and take initiatives, the organs of state power must not have particular issues to conceal from the country's citizens, except of course, for the narrow range of defense issues. In this way it is possible to organize true public control of the high echelons of power, and at the same time to move beyond contra selection [kontraszelekcio] and the lasting "establishment" of unsuitable people in leading positions.

Humane Dimensions [subhead]

The concept of social policy according to which the beginnings of measures for the future implementation of development must already appear during the implementation of the [economic] stabilization tasks also applies to public life as a whole. The essential efforts to achieve a domestic economic balance and maintain our solvency must be coordinated with the increasingly radical reduction in budget subsidies for production and with measures to renew production structure, accelerate technological development, and increase competitiveness. The rule of economic laws, the coordination of instruments of methodically regulated market relations and a firm and consistent government attitude, and an increase in economic democracy, all these things can be the main forms of coordinating seemingly opposing goals. In organizing the implementation of our tasks, we must take into account the international experience according to which, one after the other, countries in various stages of development which have embarked on the road of economic stabilization and structural change have concentrated most on renewing their intellectual potential. We cannot wait too long to give expression to our appreciation for knowledge, by making decisions that will modify our economic and distribution priorities. No doubt, without a radical and uniform renewal of general and professional training, as well as of professional retraining, without increasing the budget allocations for this purpose, and without changes in respect of the conditions for showing moral and financial appreciation, our nation will not be able to prepare for the implementation of the economic development tasks. The party and government that accept responsibility for stabilization and development should no longer tolerate a situation in which education, scientific research, and cultural activity are treated as some sort of nonproducing sectors, on the basis of the principle of leftovers. The government has shown the clear intention to fulfill its commitment in this direction by means of specific measures of financial distribution as soon as the urgent problems ease.

Since it will probably not even cost us money, it is even more important to renew the humane dimensions of our public and everyday life. In addition to the increase in the number of those who advance, differentiation on the basis of performance will also increase the number of those who fall behind through no fault of their own. A social policy of renewal cannot operate unless there is public solidarity. Community actions organized from below, consideration for one another, and tact will develop new patterns and forms of solidarity. No citizen of our country should be left outside the circle of human and community solidarity. The rank accorded to culture and education is closely related to the level of behavior. In other words, lack of consideration and tact, rudeness and aggressiveness, and the feeling of defenselessness often experienced in human relations and in various offices, constantly undermine the quality of our society.

Are these things all far removed from the need to modify the priorities of distribution? I do not think so. By selecting priorities, the party, political, and government leadership also exercise their influence and guarantee that they indeed desire a real socialist and a real social and economic development.

Berecz Discusses Central Committee Session

LD232004 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 23 Mar 88

[Interview with Janos Berecz, member of the Politburo and secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, by unidentified Budapest Radio announcer; in studio—live]

[Text] [Announcer] Good evening. The MSZMP Central Committee held discussions all day today and will continue its session tomorrow. The agenda lists three themes, or to be more precise, the Politburo has suggested that the body discuss three topics: the assertion of the party's leading role, the further development of the system of political institutions, and the convening of the national party conference.

A short while ago, Janos Berecz, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, arrived in our studio.

Good evening. Let me ask right at the beginning: How far did you get today?

[Berecz] It is true that three verbal reports were presented today, but not separately, on the assertion of the party's leading role and the development of the system of political institutions. These constituted one topic. There was one verbal report on the organizational questions concerning the convening of the party conference, and there was another one on questions of content. So these were the three themes, but the Central Committee decided to discuss them together.

The first theme was presented by Comrade Gyoergy Lazar, the second by Comrade Janos Lukacs, and I presented the third one.

As it was decided that the Central Committee should discuss them together, there were obviously a great many contributions and great many people signalled their intentions to make a contribution. The Central Committee session must, therefore, be continued tomorrow.

Fourteen contributions were made verbally and four people submitted their opinions in writing.

First of all, what does it mean, that they gave their opinions in writing? After all, one is justified to ask why someone wanting to participate in a debate would submit them writing. For we also submit documents on occasions like this which the Central Committee must approve or submit after the debate for revision. Examples are the draft communique, a draft statement in the first case, and resolutions in the second case, as to when

the Central Committee should convene the party conference and with what agenda, what topics, and in the case of the draft what we should submit for debate prior to the party conference. So if there is a written contribution we can take that also into account when it comes to the revision and amendments.

And the 14 contributors all touched on significant questions today. The situation in the country is not such that we designate a topic and talk only about that topic, for the point of departure is always what the country's situation is like, what road leads out of this, and do these documents serve certain goals and make contributions to our finding this way out. This will be one of the most important tasks of the party conference.

[Announcer] I know we are in the middle of the debate and the session is in effect a closed session. Nevertheless, what do you consider most important about today?

[Berecz] What I consider most important is that there is very lively interest. The Central Committee is debating the questions with complete responsibility, and everyone stresses not only the body's responsibility, but also its members' personal responsibility and contribution, not only in debating the topic, but also for accepting the tasks.

[Announcer] You have mentioned the word debating. [megvitatas] Is there a debate?

[Berecz] There is, indeed, debate, with contradictions. After all, when party unity and the party's leading role are talked about today, there is a multiplicity of colors in the opinions expressed. This is correct, for reality is also multicolored. Then we must reach unity on the most important questions, [word indistinct] during the course of the implementation this multitude of colors can prevail again.

[Announcer] Let us not conceal the fact that this conversation here in the studio is, in a sense, without precedent. At other times we are usually informed after a Central Committee session in the form of a communique about what happened. We are now in midcourse. What is your opinion of this midcourse conversation?

[Berecz] Well, there were occasions once or twice before when we spoke in detail on the News Background program about the Central Committee session. I think we must adopt the practice of someone presenting the topics, informing the public, even at midcourse, let us say, about the work of the Central Committee.

[Announcer] Thank you. If you have no objection, I would like to invite you to the studio tomorrow, since the Central Committee session ends tomorrow, as far as I know.

[Berecz] Well, if you will have me, I will be very happy to oblige.

Grosz Comments on Higher Education Issues

AU241417 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 22 Mar 88 pp 1,3

[Report by Laszlo N. Sandor: "A Change Is Needed—Let Us Restore the Status of Knowledge—Karoly Grosz Meets With Higher Education Leaders"]

[Excerpts] University rectors and college directors gathered at the National Assembly on 21 March for a meeting with Karoly Grosz, chairman of the Council of Ministers. Bela Kopeczi, minister of culture and education, and Katalin Radics, director of the Scientific, Public Education, and Cultural Affairs Department of the MSZMP Central Committee, participated in this friendly working conference, as Grosz called this consultation.

The meeting was occasioned by a Ministry of Culture and Education proposal on developing higher education that was submitted for debate by the Council of Ministers in April. In his short introduction, Grosz asked for suggestions and ideas concerning this proposal. He then called on the participants in the conference to speak openly about their ideas and problems and asked that the conversation not be restricted to the subject matter and the professional issues of the ministry's proposal. The participants made use of this opportunity. This exchange of ideas, then, fit well into the series of consultations Grosz is holding with the various strata of the intelligentsia.

In his introduction, Grosz expressed his hope that the discussion would contribute to mobilizing intellectual reserves. [passage omitted]

Following the discussion Karoly Grosz summarized the conclusions and said: "If we want to catch up with the world and the vanguard of scientific progress, we need a new kind of behavior and a qualitative change. National unity seems to be developing in this respect, and this is a very favorable sign; people are aware that great efforts and actions are needed.

"Our goal is to restore the prestige of intellectual work and scientific performance. We should restore the status of knowledge. There is, no doubt, a contradiction between our intentions and the possibilities that are available in this area. Taking society's sensitivities into consideration, we cannot in this respect—even with the best of intentions—promise more than what our present limited financial possibilities allow us. At the same time, society is impatient and this impatience has historical reasons. Still, one should maintain trust in the intelligentsia, in the sincerity of our intentions, and in the fact that these intentions are based on real foundations."

Grosz said that concrete and practical measures taken by the government are a means of restoring confidence. This is the way to regain the confidence of the intelligentsia and of the developing young intelligentsia. Grosz

said the following: "We can regain this confidence, and we can ensure that the young university graduates believe that, by making use of their knowledge and rights, they will be able to determine their own fate. The main criterion of their devotion to socialism will be their conviction that one must study because it is worth doing so."

Grosz also spoke about defining university independence. He stressed that it will be necessary to reconsider the division of responsibility between institutions of higher education and between the main authority. He said he very strongly supports universities and colleges making decisions locally on issues of substance, wage policy, economic management, and personnel issues. It has been established that tasks cannot be allocated from a single center of authority. At the same time, however, central intervention cannot be avoided. One should also take into consideration that funds available from the central budget are no greater than in the past. The institutions should manage their affairs with what the central budget has stipulated. The institutions themselves should also determine the size of their staff on the basis of their own possibilities, and they can increase wages in one area only if they make savings elsewhere. At the same time, Grosz pointed out that industrial enterprises will have a much larger role than previously in financing higher education, and, based on the discussion, this role is larger than what university leaders generally think. This is necessary because, for the time being, the current regulations do not adequately encourage technological development and research. However, as soon as enterprises are obliged to radically reorganize their product structure, they will consider whether they should develop their own research apparatus or finance joint research projects with the universities.

Grosz said that although pessimism, disillusionment, and perceptible fear of the future can be discerned among the intelligentsia, there is an increasingly pronounced recognition that only through joint actions will it be possible to overcome the difficult situation and create an opportunity to catch up with the world. The majority of the workers want to work not against the system, but for socialism and a better future.

Guidelines Issued on Social Debates

LD231154 Budapest MTI in English
1052 GMT 23 Mar 88

[Text] Budapest, March 23 (MTI)—The Hungarian Council of Ministers has issued guidelines on the aims and forms of social debates. The document states that in the course of preparing legal measures, an important requirement is to become familiar with and utilize the observations and proposals of citizens. One of the most suitable methods of this is social debate. In the course of preparing a decree of legal force or a council of ministers decree, social debates should be organized if the planned legal measure concerns a wider strata of society.

One of the most expedient forms of social debate is general debate. These should be organized if the planned legal regulation directly affects the rights and obligations of a wide sphere of citizens. Drafts of the legal measures that affect the wide sphere of citizens are to be made public by the press, in the interest of preparing the social debate.

Participants of the debate should be familiarized with the major principles of the planned legal regulation, its socio- and economic-policy reasons, the probable social and economic effects of the regulation, and the conditions of implementing the legal measure, so that participants be able to form well-founded opinions.

The evaluation of observations and proposals heard in the course of the conferences is the task of the ministry, or national authority responsible for the preparation of the legal measure. The council of ministers considers it important that the information and telecommunication organs provide wide publicity to the social and professional debates.

Lenard Pal Tours Tisza Chemical Combine

LD231833 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian
1830 GMT 21 Mar 88

[Excerpts] Our next report comes from Leninvaros, which was visited today by Lenard Pal, secretary of the party's Central Committee:

[Unidentified correspondent] During the course of his visit, the Central Committee secretary visited the Tisza Chemical Combine. He saw the biofoil factory, completed a few days ago at a cost of 1,200 million forints, where foil of 1.2 microns in thickness can be manufactured using the latest technology. [passage omitted]

After visiting the factory, Lenard Pal acquainted himself with the situation of the technical intelligentsia. His hosts told him that although social and earning conditions at the Tisza Chemical Factory were better than average it was diificult to attract young specialists. The Central Committee secretary's opinion was sought on this:

[Begin Pal recording] I think we must start looking for an answer to the question in our higher education, because our experience is that relations between higher education institutes and enterprises are not what they should be. In reality it is our experience that the institutions of higher education do not prepare their students for work at enterprises.

In reality we have a phrase, namely that the training of socialist intelligentsia has been pushed to the background in our universities. The students do acquire certain specialized knowledge, but as has been referred to here numerous shortcomings can be detected in the matter of political commitment—this also reflects the

fact that no concept takes shape in them at the universities concerning life, lifestyle, way of living, which meets the demands of socialist construction. The fact is that I think we must very seriously take account in this respect the fact that radical reforms must also be carried out in higher technical education, so that it can bring up people who can conduct creative work amid excellent technical conditions and relatively good material circumstances. [end recording]

Pozsgay Speaks on Political Reform

LD231635 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 21 Mar 88

[Text] Delegates of Hungarian friendship societies from 30 countries on three continents are visiting Hungary. The leaders of Hungarian friendship societies listened today to a lecture by Imre Pozsgay. The PPF general secretary spoke about the situation of Hungarian society and the reform of the system of political institutions. The following few minutes will try to sum up the essential points of his 45-minute speech:

[Begin Pozsgay recording] The most characteristic attribute of Hungary's present situation is that, in perhaps the entire East European region, among the socialist countries, this is where the contradictions arising from the experiments in socialist construction to date have become most clear-cut and apparent. The first and most essential conclusion therefore, in my opinion, is that the advancement of this society, its switch to higher productivity and the fulfillment of the demands for bridging the gap, cannot be achieved merely by economic initiatives and economic means, for one of the main experiences and lessons of the Hungarian reform so far is that every reform could be turned back to its point of departure and the country could be restored to conditions of stagnation and backwardness if the required political change and, in conjunction with the political change, the transformation of political institutions does not take place.

The citizen's status and rights, his rights as a citizen, must be determined in a new way, and these rights—about which Hungary hardly needs to be ashamed in view of its conduct to date—must be rephrased in a new way in a new constitution, so that the citizen can become a real subject of the various associations that are organized and so that he can be the initiator of a partnership in the establishment of groups and associations.

As part of a review and thorough thinking, examination is needed to clarify how interests should be represented in the country, and what kind of opportunities should be available for their expression. This can also be phrased as: Is a kind of political pluralism conceivable in a socialist social system?

In the reform of the system of political institutions and the clarification of relations between the party and the state, we must return to parliamentary forms, and within the framework of these parliamentary forms parliament must be strengthened as the body representing people's sovereignty in its legislative roles and functions, in the establishment and supervision of the government. Moreover, this must be done by ensuring that it should not be forced to rely only on information provided by the government. Parliament must also become an arena for open political activity, or in other words a school for people's political culture. This also means that its activities must be pursued with even more real openness that at present.

The electoral system, which has already been substantially changed, must be revised and readjusted to these requirements, establishing forms of consultation, nomination, and representation so that they become not political obstacles but the promoters of economic management and social development.

One topical law which must be enacted unconditionally is the institutionalization of referenda.

The implementation of the whole program, outlined here only in theses really, is unconceivable without the extension of openness. To use a current phrase which has become internationally fashionable: without glasnost this reform program cannot be carried out. Indeed, the experiences of reform hitherto and their political pitfalls shortcomings have demonstrated that without the collaboration of the people and without a reform movement uniting the whole country the transformation of the system of political institutions cannot be achieved. [end recording]

Paper Presents 1987 Enterprise Performance Data

AU231511 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 19 Mar 88 p 5

[MTI report: "Report by the Tax and Financial Control Office—On Enterprise Balance Reports"]

[Text] The Tax and Financial Control Office summarized the balance reports of enterprises and, on this basis, prepared a report on the enterprises' economic activity in 1987.

According to the data summarized by the office, the financial situation of the economic units in 1987 was more favorable than in 1986. However, in assessing the situation, one should also note that enterprise income from sales was very low in 1986; compared with this period, a certain improvement is discernible. Price increases in 1987 also contributed to the favorable development of some indicators. On the basis of all these things, the enterprises' and cooperatives' income from sales increased at a rate of 8.8 percent, which is higher than in previous years. The income of trade and building industry enterprises from sales increased more than the average, and that of industrial enterprises less. Exports for convertible currency, also developed favorably. The

fact that imports increased more than planned, however, also contributed to this. Ruble-accounted exports of enterprises and cooperatives in 1987 were 2.4 percent less than in 1986.

The overall profits of the economic units in the socialist sector increased considerably, and there was less economic activity operating at a loss; on the whole, the reported balance results exceed the 1986 results by 19.6 percent. Most of the increase in profits resulted from producer price increases, which were put into effect in 1987. The number of economic units which showed losses at the end of 1987 decreased by 11, and the amount of losses decreased by 11 percent. A similar tendency prevailed among agricultural economic units. In the course of 1987, 122 agricultural units made losses, 10 units fewer than in 1986. The situation became particularly serious for 15 industrial and building industry enterprises. These units—which together employ 28,000 people—again closed the year with a loss.

Profitability in industry increased by 10 percent, and in agriculture by 11 percent, which is less than the average increase in the people's economy. The increase in profitability in the building industry was 30 percent and in trade 27 percent; both are excellent results. Among the industrial branches, the results of the mining and metallurgical branches increased considerably, but central financial intervention played a role in this. The profitability of engineering industry enterprises was similar to their profitability in 1986, and the results achieved in the chemical and light industries corresponded to the industrial average. In agriculture, the unfavorable effects of the weather—which increased expenditures and reduced income from sales—was offset by an increase in subsidies of almost 40 percent. The results of domestic trade increased outstandingly by 30 percent; a large part of this increase was caused by increased and advance purchases made by the population in the second half of 1987.

From their results, the economic units will be able to create incentive funds about 40 percent larger than in 1986. Among other things, this will be facilitated by a considerable increase in enterprise profits and the fact that several economic units have also made use of their previous reserves.

The stock of the enterprises' and cooperatives' fixed assets increased by 5.1 percent. The rate of this increase, however, lagged behind the 1986 rate. The amount of worn-out but still functional fixed assets increased at a quicker rate than the increase in their value; thus, in 1987 there was a deterioration in the up-to-dateness of the means of production. The present proportion of written-off means of production in industry already exceeds 20 percent.

The value of the economic units' stocks increased by 5 percent. Stocks went up particularly quickly in industry, whereas in domestic trade a 3.5-percent drop in stocks occurred. On the level of the people's economy, the expenditures of the economic units on wages increased by 5.6 percent, while the number of employees decreased by an average of 2.8 percent. According to the data in the balance reports, average wages increased by 8.6 percent in 1987.

The number of so-called small-scale ventures slightly decreased. However, their incomes and their members' incomes, increased somewhat. The number and the profits of small-scale enterprises and cooperatives increased considerably.

CEMA Committee Conference Opens in Budapest

AU241621 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 23 Mar 88 p 4

[Text] The experts in charge of the CEMA countries' cooperation in electric engineering, Interelektro, began a 4-day conference in the House of Technology in Eger on 22 March. Representatives of nine countries are participating in the conference; the agenda consists of economic, technical and scientific development issues, and standardization issues.

It is characteristic of the new style of cooperation in CEMA that the members will endeavor to strengthen the relations between enterprises in the future, rather than carrying out ministerial level coordination. The fact that the conference also deals with establishing joint enterprises proves this.

French Minister Raimond to Visit 24 Mar

LD231951 Budapest MTI in English 1804 GMT 23 Mar 88

[Text] Budapest, March 23 (MTI)—At the invitation of Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs Peter Varkonyi, the minister of foreign affairs of the French Republic, Jean-Bernard Raimond is due to arrive to Budapest on Thursday.

Greek Culture Minister Visits 15-17 Mar

LD172144 Budapest MTI in English 1925 GMT 17 Mar 88

[Text] Budapest, March 17 (MTI)—Karoly Grosz, chairman of the Council of Ministers, met Melina Merkouri, minister of culture of Greece, in Budapest on Thursday. The cordial meeting was also attended by Bela Kopeczi, minister of culture and education, and Emmanouil Kalpadhakis, ambassador of the Hellenic Republic to Hungary.

During her stay in Hungary Melina Merkouri met Gyula Horn, state secretary of foreign affairs.

Melina Merkouri and Bela Kopeczi surveyed the topical issues of and the ways of developing, Hungarian-Greek cultural cooperation. The Greek minister saw the museum of physical education and sports, and met Tamas Tibor, deputy president of the state office for

youth and sports and of the Hungarian Olympic Committee. Melina Merkouri attended professional consultations at the Federation of Hungarian Film and TV Artists and the Hungarian Federation of Theatrical Arts, saw theatrical performances and visited the cultural society of Greeks in Hungary.

Prior to her departure Melina Merkouri, who paid an official visit to Hungary from March 15 To 17 at the invitation of Bela Kopeczi, told the press that her talks served the further development of bilateral cultural relations. She emphasized that Greece, along with other European countries, sought to take part in the formation of a united Europe. In her opinion Hungary can also play a major part in this process, for instance in the Vienna follow-up conference.

Daily on Hungary's Plans to Open UNHCR Office

AU231459 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 23 Mar 88 p 2

[Text] Vienna/Budapest—Hungary is considering asking the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) to open an office in Budapest in order to come to grips with the wave of refugees from Romania. This became known on the fringe of a meeting of the "Democratic Forum," a group of Hungarian intellectuals. According to unofficial information, at present about 30,000 Hungarians from Transylvania are in Hungary illegally and are waiting for legal regulations.

The initiative to open the first UNHCR office in an East Bloc state has started with the Hungarian-born Vienna lawyer Eva-Maria Barki. The proposal was integrated into a statement of the "Democratic Forum," which is now being sent to the Budapest Government.

Those close to Premier Karoly Grosz speak of a "good idea," which, however, will not be able to solve "the political problems with Romania and the financial trouble." Last week Parliament approved 300 million forint (about 75 million schillings) for a housing, work, and education program for the refugees. Several banks have already opened accounts for donations for this purpose.

For Hungarian Government circles the only hope springs from an extremely negative development: The Romanian authorities are treating applications for exit visas by members of the Hungarian minority in an ever more restrictive way. "Thus the apex of the refugee wave seems to have passed."

MSZMP CC Congratulates Uruguay CP Head

AU231013 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 21 Mar 88 p 8

[Text] The MSZMP Central Committee has sent a telegram of congratulations to Rodney Arismendi, general secretary of the Communist Party of Uruguay, on the occasion of his 75th birthday.
ation Arrives
LD241048 Budapest MTI in English 2004 GMT 23 Mar 88

[Text] Budapest, March 23 (MTI)—At the invitation of the HSWP Central Committee the delegation of the MPLA-Workers' Party from Angola, headed by CC Secretary Jacinto Venancio Chipopa, arrived in Budapest on Wednesday. For the reception of the guests Bela Kovacs, head of the HSWP CC party economy and business routine department, was present at the Ferihegy Airport.

Leaders' Public Appearances 10-16 March

AU181126 [Editorial Report] Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian of 11 and 17 March, and MAGYAR HIRLAP of 16 March report on the public appearances of the following leaders between 10 and 16 March (source, date, and page number of each report is given in parentheses):

Judit Csehak, member of the MSZMP Politburo and minister of social affairs and health; and Csaba Hamori, member of the MSZMP Politburo and first secretary of KISZ, participated in the central youth rally and wreath-laying ceremony held on the occasion of the 140th anniversary of the 1848 revolution at the Budapest National Museum on 15 March. [MAGYAR HIRLAP, 16 Mar, pp 1,6]

MSZMP General Secretary Janos Kadar and Miklos Nemeth, secretary of the MSZMP Central Commitee, paid a working visit to the Budapest headquarters of the Agricultural Cooperatives National Council on 10 March. They were received by Istvan Szabo, member of the MSZMP Politburo and chairman of the Agricultural Cooperatives National Council. [NEPSZABADSAG, 11 Mar, p 1]

Miklos Nemeth, secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, paid a visit to Komarom County on 16 March. He met with local party and council officials and economic leaders, and visited the Babolna Agricultural Combine. [NEPSZABADSAG, 17 Mar, p 6]

Daily Views Yazov-Carlucci Meeting

AU231528 Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 21 Mar 88 p 2

[Commentary signed "(TP)": "Following the Yazov-Carlucci Talks—A Historic Meeting"]

[Text] On 16 and 17 March, Army General Dmitriy Yazov and Frank Carlucci, the Soviet and U.S. defense ministers respectively, have met in Bern in their very first meeting on Soviet-U.S. relations. Further contacts between defense ministries of the two powers were also announced. Marshal Sergey Akhromeyev, chief of the Soviet Army General Staff, is to visit Washington this year at the invitation of Admiral William Crowe, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staffs of the U.S. Armed Forces.

The Bern meeting, which helped to intensify the Soviet-U.S. dialogue, was held in connection with preparations for the coming Gorbachev-Reagan summit meeting. Aside from the foreign ministers, who meet every month, these preparations have been joined by military men, who discussed subjects such as the sides' military doctrines, the control of armaments, the potentially dangerous incidents between the sides' armed forces (one such incident occurred in the Black Sea recently), and some regional problems. Nor did they ignore the issues connected with the situation in Afghanistan and Central America.

Each minister was accompanied by 10 advisers. On the first day they gathered in the U.S. Embassy in Bern on either side of a long table, at the head of which a large plastic map of Europe was placed. On the second day the meeting was continued at the Soviet Embassy.

It should be noted that the two ministers did not meet to discuss disarmament negotiations. They met to discuss a wide range of issues connected with military problems. Theirs was a serious and open [otwarta] evaluation, both of political-military and military-technical questions.

Not ignoring acute and controversial issues, the ministers tried primarily to find points of contact, looking for solutions to the complicated problems of reducing both nuclear and conventional armaments, for opportunities to start early talks on reducing the military potentials in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals, and for resuming negotiations on banning chemical and other weapons. At their press conferences after the meeting, the two ministers evaluated their talks as meaningful and candid. It is true that no breakthrough was made, but the most important thing was that the figures on whom the course of disarmament negotiations depends to a considerable extent were able to directly exchange their views.

New Envoy to U.S. Presents Credentials

LD231129 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0900 GMT 23 Mar 88

[Text] Jan Kinast, the Polish ambassador to the United States, has presented his credentials to President Ronald Reagan in the White House. The president of the United States expressed thanks for the greetings to him and the American nation from Wojciech Jaruzelski, chairman of the Council of State, on behalf of the Polish authorities and nation. Ronald Reagan emphasized the contribution of Poles to the fight for the independence and building of the United States. He also mentioned the progress that has been made in Polish-U.S. relations. The presentation of credentials by the Polish ambassador marks a return in Polish-U.S. contacts to relations at an ambassadorial level after 6 years.

FRG's Genscher Views Prospects for Relations

LD222102 Warsaw PAP in English 1747 GMT 22 Mar 88

[Text] Warsaw, March 22—"The objective of our 1988 policy will (?be to) further consolidate cooperation with our eastern partners," said FRG's Vice-Chancellor and Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher in an interview given to the Kracow daily GAZETA KRAKOWSKA.

Referring to his recent Polish visit, Genscher said its purpose was to provide a simulus for further development of Poland-FRG relations and it proved to be a success.

"It corroborated the fact that our relations are primarily based upon the Treaty of Warsaw of December 7, 1970. My talks in Warsaw confirm my belief that we shall be able to make a joint step forward," he said.

"By filling Poland-FRG relations with contents we should like to establish appropriate premises so that the federal chancellor can pay a visit to the Polish People's Republic."

"The visit showed that the Federal Republic of Germany and the Polish People's Republic can make a significant contribution into improvement of East-West relations and into the success of the efforts for control of armaments and disarmament. We found positive points of convergence in considerations stemming from the Jaruzelski Plan.

According to Genscher, many treaties and agreements should be completed these coming months. "We need such treaties as: agreement on supporting investment projects, agreement on scientific and technological cooperation, or agreement pertaining to natural environment protection," FRG's foreign minister declared.

"We want to establish consulates general in Kracow and in Hamburg. We would like the exchange of youth groups to be enhanced. Three working groups will hold session these months to discuss the details. One of them will deal with issues of disarmament and armaments control, another will discuss economic and financial cooperation, another will discuss economic and financial cooperation, while the third will cope with enhancing political dialogue as a premise of cooperation and of the detente process in Europe. This should allow us to sign respective treaties," Genscher said.

"My Polish opposite number, Mr Marianrowski (?will) try to sum up all this during his prospective visit to the FRG in a few months time," he said.

Referring to the eastern policy, Hans-Dietrich Genscher said that its objective would be to further develop bilateral, based upon hitherto achievements, cooperation with eastern neighbours.

"In [words indistinct] chance for a new quality in the East-West dialogue which emerged after the historic treaty between the United Swates and the Soviet Union," concluded FRG's Vice-Chancellor and Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher.

Jaruzelski Receives Greek Culture Minister

LD212334 Warsaw PAP in English
2205 GMT 21 Mar 88

[Text] Warsaw, March 21—President of the Polish Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski received on Monday Greek Culture Minister Melina Mercouri, on a visit to Poland at the invitation from the minister of culture and art.

Mercouri handed over to Jaruzelski a personal letter from Greek Premier Andreas Papandreou.

At the meeting the two discussed problems relevant for the further development and tightening of Polish-Greek cultural relations in the aspect of international cooperation.

Thai Deputy Prime Minister Continues Visit

Holds Talks With Szalajda

LD211627 Warsaw PAP in English
1255 GMT 21 Mar 88

[Text] Warsaw, March 21—A delegation of the Royal Government of Thailand, with Vice-Premier Phichai Rattakun, now on a visit to this country, met here on Monday with Vice-Premier Zbigniew Szalajda.

The meeting discussed the achievements and economic needs of the two countries, possibilities to develop industrial relations and the chances for increasing trade exchange.

The vice-premiers stressed with satisfaction the hitherto development of political and economic relations between the two countries and expressed the hope for their further strengthening.

The Thai delegation visited the Belchatow Power Complex where they got acquainted with the work of the local lignite mine and power plant, and with activities aimed at the protection of natural environment.

Confers With Messner

LD231614 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1500 GMT 23 Mar 88

[Text] Zbigniew Messner has received Phichai Rattakun, the deputy prime minister of the Kingdom of Thailand. The prospects for the development of bilateral relations in the economic, scientific and technological, cultural, and touristic spheres were discussed. The premier informed the guest about the changes in the social and economic life of Poland. Views were exchanged on the more important problems of the contemporary world.

Received by Jaruzelski

LD240332 Warsaw PAP in English
1818 GMT 23 Mar 88

[Text] Warsaw, March 23—President of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski received here today Deputy Prime Minister of the Royal Government of Thailand Phichai Rattakun, who is currently on a visit to Poland.

The talks between the two focused upon key issues of Polish-Thai relations. Also some international problems pertaining to maintenance of peace in the world were discussed, and consolidation of security and confidence in Europe and South-East Asia in particular.

The last two year's development of relations between Poland and Thailand was assessed as positive. The two pointed out the necessity to intensify economic cooperation.

Ends Visit, Departs

LD240028 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1600 GMT 23 Mar 88

[Text] The delegation of the Kingdom of Thailand, headed by Deputy Premier Phichai Rattakun, has ended its several-days-long visit to Poland. Deputy Premier Rattakun was received today by Zbigniew Messner. Prospects for developing bilateral relations in the sphere of economy, science and technology, culture, and tourism were discussed during the course of the conversation.

During plenary talks chaired by Deputy Premiers Zbigniew Szalajda and Phichai Rattakun, areas of economic cooperation between Poland and Thailand were laid down, including, among other things, the power

industry; the development and modernization of ports, road planning, and construction in Thailand; as well as supplies of complete industrial installations, machinery, and equipment.

Phichai Rattakun, who also holds the post of chairman of the Democratic Party, had a meeting with Tadeusz Witold Mlynczak, chairman of the SD Central Committee.

The guests from Thailand left our country today.

'Blank Spot' of Poles in USSR Reviewed
AU221741 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 19 Mar 88 p 14

[Mikolaj Iwan: "The Poles Living Deeper in the Borderland"]

[Text] This article is an attempt to put, as yet a rather weak, spotlight on one of the most acute "blank spots": The history of the Poles who lived in the USSR between the wars, which were then the largest community of Poles living abroad in Europe and the second largest such community in the world.

Poles were the first large group of the Soviet population to be collectively victimized in 1936-38 because of their nationality and not because of their class affiliation. They were deported en masse from the Ukrainian and Belorussian towns and villages into the remote regions of the Asiatic USSR, mainly into the Kokchetavskiy region in Kazakhstan. It was impossible to scientifically analyze this issue before the process of extensive democratization and of the struggle for universal openness and truthfulness of information began in the USSR.

The nature of the Soviet Polonia experiment was to grant extensive national autonomy to the Polish population wherever it lived in close communities. In the mid-twenties, this experiment differed little from the state's nationality policy, which sought to extend the rights of all non-Russian nations without exception. In line with the decisions of the 10th Congress of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) [RCP(B)], party and state posts began to be filled by representatives of the population that was ethnically tied to a given territory. The party and state apparatus in the nationality regions had to use the local language. Mother tongues were introduced even into the Red Army units, were used in extensively promoting national cultures, and so on. This was called the Ukraine policy in the Ukraine, the Belorussian policy in Belorussia, the Tatar policy in the Tatar Autonomous Republic, the Turkish policy in Azerbaijan, and so on and so forth.

In line with that policy, there began the process of creating a largely autonomous Polish socialist community in the USSR. Two relatively large autonomous regions were set up for the Poles living in the USSR: the Marchlewski [Markhlevskiy] region in the Ukraine for 40,000 people living in 650 square km, and the Dzierzynski [Dzherzhynskiy] region in Belorussia for 44,000 people living in 1,000 square km. Generally these regions were called Markhlevshchizna and Dzherzhynshchizna. Polish language was used in all party and state institutions, including the militia and courts, in these two regions. The structure of Polish socialist national autonomy in the USSR was made up of a very extensive network of the so-called Polish rural councils, which were set up wherever there were close Polish communities of upwards of 500 people. The Soviet authorities established over 670 primary and secondary Polish schools and seven special schools with Polish as the study language, and two university-type schools—the Polish Teachers' Institute in Minsk and the Social Education Institute in Kiev. Several Polish departments in the universities in the Ukraine, Belorussia, Moscow, and Leningrad were also set up. There were Soviet courts using the Polish language, three Polish professional theaters, 16 Polish regional dailies, six republican dailies, and one central trade union daily, all in Polish. Hundreds and hundreds of Polish books were publish annually. There was a Polish radio station and Polish scientific research institutes attached to the Ukrainian and Belorussian Academies of Sciences. Last but not least, the Polish language was proclaimed by the Belorussian Constitution as one of the recognized state languages.

This large number of Polish institutions and administrative units was meant to service about 1.2 million Poles, of whom 650,000 lived in the Ukraine and about 300,000 in Belorussia. In the Ukraine the Poles accounted for about 2 percent of the population and in Belorussia for about 7.5 percent. Most of these Poles lived in the so-called deeper areas of the borderland, that is, in the areas that the Riga peace treaty of 1921 allotted to the USSR. In some regions—in Volhynia and Minsk territories, for example—the ratio of the Polish population amounted to 10 and even to 20 percent. My research over many years has convinced me that the 1926 Soviet census figures of 782,300 Poles in the USSR, including 496,000 in the Ukraine and 96,000 in Belorussia, were clearly below the true figures. This is clearly attested to not only by the fact that there were officially 750,000 Catholics in the Ukraine and almost 400,000 in Belorussia, but also by the data collected by the Special Commission of the Polish Bureau of the RCP (B). This commission usually regarded almost all Poles as Catholics.

The beginnings of the Polonia experiment could be observed as early as 1922, when Julian Marchlewski and Feliks Kon proposed at one of the commission sessions of the Fourth Congress of the Communist International in Moscow to set up Polish autonomous territorial-administrative units in the borderland area. As the Polish intelligence agents learned, over 30,000 Polish families were resettled from the towns in central Russia and Siberia to the so-called deeper borderland areas—mainly Volhynia—between 1923 and the end of 1925.

These people settled on the lands of the former large estates that were owned by the Polish borderland magnates before the revolution. The resettlers were recruited from those unsuccessful repatriates (to the reborn Poland) whom the Polish authorities refused to admit for political reasons, from those who were too late for repatriation, and from those who decided to live in the USSR for family, economic, or other reasons.

It is obvious that the extensive system of Polish autonomy in the USSR stimulated the curiosity and some anxiety of the Polish authorities, who realized that this unusual Soviet measure constituted a real danger to Polish domestic and external policy. At the consular meeting at the Polish Embassy in Moscow in 1933, P. Kurnicki, Polish consul general in Kiev, appraised the Soviet Polonia experience in this way: "The Marchlewski region is a kind of laboratory in which the experiment of grafting communism on the Polish population is being made. That is why they are trying to create 'ideal' conditions for this experiment. This laboratory is being watched by the local and central party and state authorities. Last but not least, this region is to become a propaganda ace in the international forum."

Polish national autonomy also played the role of a typical factor in mutual Polish-Soviet relations. In line with the plans that inspired the sponsors of the Soviet Polonia experiment, the level of the national freedoms of the Soviet Poles should have been adequately matched by the situation of the Ukrainians and Belorussians living in Poland. However, the leading circles in the Poland between the wars took the view that efforts to build up Polish national awareness and, at the same time, to destroy traditional Polish values and ideals meant that the Soviet Polonia was going to be ultimately lost to Poland hook, line, and sinker.

At the end of the 1920's, the significance of the Polonian experiment increased markedly. This is chiefly explained by the new ideological campaign in the USSR, this time against so-called local nationalism. Accusations of sabotaging the process of creating a Polish socialist autonomous region were added to the heavy accusations already current. Former adherents of Ukrainianization and Belorussification were accused of continuing the old Czarist policy of Russification and colonization.

The creation of a Polish socialist society also called for revolutionary changes in culture. It called for a "Polish proletarian culture." One of the most controversial features of this program was the attempt to reform traditional Polish spelling. Those in favor of simplifying Polish spelling justified it by means of the following argument: "The aristocratic, historic character of Polish spelling makes it difficult for the masses to join in the construction of a Polish proletarian culture." The "democratization" of spelling proposed by them envisaged the abolition of the nasal "a" and "e" and the accented "o," the replacement of "sz" and "cz" by aspirated "s" and "c" respectively, and other revolutionary novelties. "The purpose of the Polish spelling revolution is to make Polish spelled the way it is pronounced," wrote Tomasz Dabal. It was argued that "the bourgeoisie is not bothered by a system of spelling that is difficult for the children of peasants and workers, who do not have as much time for education as bourgeois children."

In 1930 and 1931, almost every major concentration of Poles held a series of worker and peasant rallies and teachers conferences on the subject of this spelling reform. "I am not a trained linguist," said an inspector of Polish affairs in the okrug of Slutsk at one of these conferences, "and perhaps there is something I fail to understand. But my peasant brain tells me that if we are to carry out a reform, then let us do so in a Bolshevik way. Then the reform will be thorough and immediate-...Perhaps we will go to Poland to administer it and feel we are illiterate because we do not know the old spelling. In any case, by the time we get there, the old system will have disappeared, including the grammar. So let us not bother ourselves and our children with stupid spelling."

This wave of "national" social support for the spelling reform led to the foundation in 1932 of a special spelling reform commission attached to the Belorussian Science Academy's Polish Institute of Proletarian Culture. However, the end of the Soviet Polonian experiment also put an end to the Polish spelling reform.

An attempt to create in Polish regions a miniature Polish socialist society with a complete class structure was a Utopian goal set by the leadership of the Polish Bureau of the Central Committee of the RCP(B), a goal far removed from the slogans professed by that party. That is why it was also decided to create a Polish workers class and intelligentsia in the Marchlewski region. No major problems were encountered as far as the intelligentsia was concerned. In fact, there were too many Polish Communist Party emigre aktivists in the USSR. Much more difficult to solve was the problem of the workers class. Nevertheless, here too use was made of considerable state resources, and an accelerated industrial development commenced in Polish regions. The industrialization of the Marchlewski region and the establishment of a relatively large workers stratum there were supposed to enable Polish communist aktivists in the USSR to speak on behalf of the Soviet Polish proletariat, which practically enjoyed broad national autonomy in the first socialist state.

Despite the enormous efforts of Polish Communists, it was not possible to inculcate any stereotyped "socialist thinking" among the fringe population. As a result, the attitude of the USSR central authorities toward Polish autonomous regions became first of all suspicious, and then distrustful, and then it turned into a full-scale persecution not only of the communist leaders of these regions, but also of the entire Polish population.

These changes were the result of the experience of collectivization. The so-called Stalinist socialist broad-front offensive caused markedly greater opposition to collectivization from the Poles than from other nationalities.

In 1932, when the first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, Stanislaw Kosior, a Pole from the Congress Kingdom, delivered a report in Moscow on the completion of universal collectivization in the Ukraine, this process was still far from being well under way in the Marchlewsk region. Despite the energetic efforts of the local Communist aktiv, the level of collectivization in the Polish national region was almost a fourth of the average for the Ukraine as a whole. The Marchlewsk region became a sort of "blank spot" on the map of successes in collectivization.

The central Polish republican paper SIERP described the reasons for the delays in the Marchlewsk region as follows: "The class enemy, the kulak, Polish nationalists, Polish fascist agents have taken advantage of a relaxation in class vigilance on the part of regional organizations to conduct their despicable and damaging work on an extensive scale. Thus, we cannot permit class vigilance to be relaxed for a second, we have to continue the struggle to completely crush what remains of this band of nationalists."

The Polish population's resistance to collectivization could not be overcome quickly. Despite mass deportations of local "kulaks" and so-called "podkulaks," the establishment of two "Red Army collective farms" in the Marchlewsk region (the members of these collective farms were predominantly Red Army soldiers who had been demobilized), and an intensification of the war against "banditry," the situation remained bleak from the point of view of the authorities. A large number of Poles decided to take another form of protest action. In 1932 more than 5,000 Poles living in the Ukraine asked the Polish Consul General in Kiev to be allowed to settle permanently in Poland. The consul "with the approval of individual voivodas, issued more than 3,000 exit permits to the people concerned, but the Soviet authorities allowed only 3 of them to leave."

We can only estimate by indirect means the level of repression to which the Soviet Polish community was subjected: In 1933 alone, the population of the Marchlewsk region declined by almost 23 percent.

The "J. Marchlewski" Polish National Region was dissolved on the basis of a decision made by the Ukrainian Government in October 1935. The year 1935 also saw the complete elimination of Polish national autonomy in the Ukraine. The publication of all Soviet Polish language newspapers ceased, and their place began to be taken by the one and only central Polish central newspaper GLOS RADZIECKI, from whose columns material of a specifically Polish kind disappeared completely. Almost all Polish schools, cultural-educational institutions, courts, and rural councils were closed down, and other elements of the socialist autonomy were also eliminated. The city of Marchlewsk had its old name, Dolbysz, restored to it, and a new Ukrainian region replaced the Marchlewsk region.

The elimination of Polish national autonomy in Belorussia took somewhat longer. The central republic paper ORKA appeared until May 1937, and the "F. Dzierzynski" Polish National Region formally existed until 1938. However, the hardest years for the Soviet Polish community were still to come. During the years 1936-38 the Polish community was persecuted in a particularly brutal way, even when one compares this with the general level of repression at the time. All traces of the Soviet Polonian experiment were obliterated. The dissolution of the Polish Communist Party by the Comintern in 1938 only meant that the degree of repression was stepped up.

Jaruzelski Chairs Party Committee Meeting

LD240932 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 23 Mar 88

[Text] A meeting of first secretaries of the party voivodship committees was held today under the chairmanship of Wojciech Jaruzelski. During the meeting tasks of party echelons and organizations to facilitate consistent implementation of the second stage of the economic reform, announced by the first secretary of the party Central Committee in his speech at the 10th Congress of the United Peasant Party were defined in detail.

Young Polish Demonstrators Receive Heavy Fines

AU232144 Paris AFP in English 2138 GMT 23 Mar 88

[Text] Warsaw, March 23 (AFP)—Fourteen youths were given heavy fines by a police tribunal at Sopot, northern Poland, on Wednesday for disorderly behaviour on the public highway, a source in the town reported.

The source added that 18 militants from the banned Freedom and Peace (WIP) movement had also received stiff fines at Sopot on Monday.

The 14 youths, aged between 18 and 20 were arrested Monday at a demonstration which was violently dispersed by police at Sopot, a coastal town near Gdansk, the source said. They will be allowed to appeal.

The 14 were each ordered to pay 50,000 zlotys (120 dollars) in fines, while the WIP members charged Monday with attempting to disrupt public order were given 51,000-zloty fines.

The average monthly wage in Poland is 30,000 zlotys (72 dollars).

Army Colonel Interviewed on Conscription

LD201926 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1200 GMT 20 Mar 88

[Text] Colonel Edmund Kania, army recruitment commander of the Warsaw Mokotow District, speaks out in the columns of ZOLNIERZ POLSKI. The interview concerns conscription to the Army.

We must take defense needs into account, above all, to be precise, the needs of the Army because they are most important. At the same time however, we try to reconcile these primary requirements with the individual interests of the conscript. We are also guided by this principle when directing conscripts to alternative forms of military service.

Are such circumstances as the ideological or religious convictions of conscripts taken into account? We are not only sympathetic [words indistinct] in assessing circumstances important to the conscripts, but understandably that we cannot take them all into account. If the conscript, for example, is a Jehovah's Witness and states that his religion forbids him to take up arms, then we generally propose an alternative form of military service. The point is really that Jehovah's Witnesses do not want to do military service in any form, and this we cannot take into consideration. As for ideological considerations? We very rarely come into contact with such cases. The Mokotow District numbers around 370,000 inhabitants, whereas conscripts defending themselves against military service for ideological reasons may be counted on the fingers of one hand, and there will be fingers left over. It also commonly happens that the conscript has been confused by someone. Recently, we had a case of a conscript who accepted his conscription papers and reported to his Army unit, but then announced that for ideological reasons he could not put the uniform on. His supervisors talked to him, a request was made for the father to talk to his son, and the boy changed his mind and is not a bad soldier.

If, however, the conscript is directed to other service, what does it entail? Asks the representative of the editorial board. Colonel Kania replies: doing work in enterprises of the Social Health Service, Social Welfare, Environmental Protection and other enterprises of public utility. As regards our Army Recruitment Board (WKU), most often we direct conscripts to health service centers and construction enterprises. Conscripts doing alternative military service may be confined to barracks, though this generally is not applied and, usually, they travel to work from their homes. While working they are trained in the sphere of self-defense, in accordance with the civil defense program.

Let us assume, the editorial board says, that the conscript does not want to fulfill the duty of military service in any form. What then? Colonel Kania replies: That which is practiced in every state. In accordance with the law, the matter is directed to penal procedure. It cannot be any other way because every citizen making use of the rights of his state must also fulfill the obligations weighing upon him. The duty of military service is one of the most important and all are equal before this duty, states Colonel Edmund Kania in an interview with a journalist of the ZOLNIERZ POLSKI.

Press on PZPR Politburo 15 Mar Session

AU220944 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17 Mar 88 pp 1, 2

[Text] PAP—On 15 March the PZPR Politburo heard government reports on counteracting unnecessary price increases and wage increases that are not justified by a factory's economic situation or level of management efficiency.

The Politburo stressed that the government is responsible for strictly implementing the economic and financial principles that are binding on enterprises. Any violation of these principles in the area of incomes and prices carries the following consequences:

— a loss of concessions and subsidies;

— the loss of entitlement to credits;

— fines imposed by the fiscal authorities.

The Politburo reaffirmed the correctness of government plans to impose tax burdens upon enterprises after the first quarter of 1988. This will prevent managements from spending funds hastily and ignoring their commitments vis-a-vis the state budget. Such a practice, quite frequent over the past few years, reduces the amount of money available for important social objectives financed by the state.

It is purposeful to continue sharp controls of price and wage increases and continuously analyze the situation in this sphere.

The government reports addressed activity to improve supplies of materials in enterprises. Distortions such as superfluous middlemen are not being eliminated from economic activity resolutely enough. Commissions, which are particularly high in investment processes, constitute a major financial burden on enterprises and are one of the reasons why construction costs, already quite high, are rising all the time, and construction times are becoming more protracted.

The Politburo committed the government to inform society about the results of the controls and about the sanctions imposed on enterprise managements who violate the principles of the second stage of the reform.

Having acquainted itself with the government's undertakings to improve market supplies, the Politburo indicated that the institutional principles designed to

encourage rational materials management in enterprises, raise production potential, improve coproduction and work organization, and boost initiative and enterprise already exist.

Greater use must be made of all these possibilities in order to increase the production of particularly sought-after market commodities. The recently modified system of franchises has made it possible to improve the organization and work of the retail trade, catering services, and services in general. This is a chance to increase competition and boost initiative.

The Politburo criticized the insufficient progress in the review of organizational structures and certification of jobs. It said that in many factories this attestation is being carried out in a shallow and superficial manner, and that the elimination of redundant posts is still a rarity. There are many discrepancies during this job certification. The most important ones are the continuing excess administrative personnel, the creation of even more managerial posts, and a failure to simplify decisionmaking processes.

The Politburo instructed the Party-Government Commission for Reviewing and Modernizing Organizational Structures in the State and Economy to accelerate work on establishing the principles and norms of rational employment, and to take firm steps in introducing them to economic practice.

The Politburo discussed the conclusions reached at meetings and talks between the PZPR leadership and female employees of various enterprises and institutions throughout Poland on 7 March. These meetings highlighted the major differences in working conditions, social welfare, retail trade, and communal services in cities and rural areas. Many meetings touched upon prices and wages, proper work organization, and the possibility of increasing production, and therefore wages. Numerous examples of a correct solving of women's vitally important social and professional problems were quoted. But many shortcomings were pointed out as well—widespread dust and noise, not enough safety protection, low hygiene, and a lack of social facilities. Women generally criticized municipal transportation and state-run shops and services. They made it clear that a successful reconciliation of one's job with one's simultaneous role as a mother and housewife depends on the proper functioning of these economic units.

The factory meetings and talks were an opportunity to convey respect and gratitude to all Polish women for their daily commitment at work and home.

The Politburo suggests a universal review of women's working conditions in the third quarter of 1988, initiated by party cells and organizations, trade unions, and the League of Polish Women. The review would examine work safety and hygiene for women, reveal existing dangers and irregularities, and take steps to eliminate them. The State Labor Inspectorate and State Sanitary Inspectorate were asked to step up controls over working conditions, especially in plants where many employees are women.

The Politburo examined the implementation of the decisions of the 24th PZPR Plenum on problems of education and higher education. It discussed ways of upgrading the education process, improving the educational function of schools, satisfying their cadre and material needs, and consolidating the party's ideological and organizational presence in educational institutions and colleges.

The Politburo said that implementing the 24th PZPR Plenum Resolution had achieved the following:

—A visible increase in the energy of party cells in solving specific problems in schools,

—A growth in the schools network and an improvement in facilities,

—A certain improvement in satisfying the financial and cadre needs of schools,

—A major increase in the manufacture of textbooks,

—A fulfillment of National Socioeconomic Plan tasks in the construction of nurseries and elementary schools.

A team of experts is energetically working out future development paths for national education. The government and local authorities have also undertaken work to eliminate disruptions in education. However, said the Politburo, other tasks are not being performed with sufficient energy, and a firm acceleration is required here. Improvements in teaching methods and a greater intake of teachers are of particular importance.

The burdens imposed on schoolchildren during their school education must be reduced as of the 1988-89 school year.

More intensive education for young people calls for a further increase in the educational and care function of schools, increased cooperation between families and schools, and greater rights for schoolchildren in determining their own affairs, as well as greater activity by schoolchildren's societies. The changes taking place in Poland must be accompanied by activity aimed at improving young people's legal and economic education and improving their feeling of civic responsibility on the basis of socialist humanitarian values. Schoolchildren must be encouraged to constantly expand their knowledge and raise their qualifications.

The Politburo examined proposals to modernize the teacher training system. It asked the government to improve the material situation of teachers this year, mainly by raising their wages and providing housing for teachers in rural areas.

The below-plan construction of post-elementary schools and dormitories and weak progress in building schools in large cities were viewed with concern. The manufacture of teaching aids is also unsatisfactory.

It is essential to improve the system of supervising education more quickly.

The Politburo observed that the 24th PZPR Plenum Resolution has recently become a basis on which to plan party work and make changes in further education.

The following results have been achieved in educational institutions:

—Clear progress in the performance of these institutions' primary functions,

—An improvement in education within colleges, especially better student grades,

—A start on work on a development program for further education up to the year 2000,

—A new system of admissions,

—Increased scientific research by colleges,

—Special work with gifted students.

The Politburo noted that there are further possibilities of improving education. Clear progress in the correct discharge of educational duties in colleges is essential. Academic authorities, teachers, PZPR education committees, socialist youth unions, and government departments responsible for further education were called on to further consolidate the educational function of colleges and permit greater social and political activity by students and educational employees.

The Politburo states that it is essential to elevate the system of national education to the status of one of the state's most important and urgent tasks. This requires a more consistent implementation of programs and decisions, and a continuing interest in education on the part of party organizations and cells, people's councils, the state administration, and society.

The Politburo examined the preliminary materials being prepared for the seventh PZPR plenum which will deal with cadres policy, and laid guidelines for further work.

The Politburo appraised and approved the results of Foreign Minister Marian Orzechowski's recent official visit of friendship to the USSR. It recommended a full and timely implementation of the conclusions stemming from the visit on the subject of Polish-Soviet relations.

The Politburo stressed that CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev's official visit to Poland in the summer of this year will be of great significance for the development of these relations. The visit will undoubtedly become a significant and historic event in Polish-Soviet relations and will enhance the process of consolidating the friendship, cooperation, and closeness between our states and peoples.

Weekly on 'Deformation' of Socialist System

AU221441 Warsaw KULTURA in Polish 16 Mar 88 p 7

[Eighth session of Eleonora and Bronislaw Syzdek's discussion of the history of Polish revolution: "Deformation of the System"]

[Text] **The vision of socialism adopted at the congress was attractive, not only for the poorest people, but also for some segments of the intelligentsia. The masses looked forward to the realization of the idea of justice, and the intelligentsia hoped for opportunities for promotion. Young people, who were less experienced politically, attached the greatest hopes to these changes.** [boldface passage as published]

Eleonora Syzdek: People usually call the years 1948-56 a "period of errors and distortions," but perhaps this means little today?

Bronislaw Syzdek: It is difficult to evaluate those years, because, on the one hand, crucial socioeconomic changes resulting from the country's industrialization took place at that time: Young people, especially those from rural areas, were able to forge ahead, illiteracy was eliminated, and considerable progress was made in the spread of education and culture. On the other hand, various deformations appeared. The administrative-command system of government favored the expansion of bureaucracy, the masses continued to be increasingly deprived of influence on domestic events, and democracy, including internal party democracy, was curbed. The rule of law began to be violated on an extensive scale. Drastic methods of repression were used, not only vis-a-vis political adversaries. Department X [Roman ten] was set up in the Ministry of Public Security and was given unlimited powers, including the shadowing of party and state officials. The years 1949-53 were the darkest period in this regard.

Eleonora Syzdek: What was the source of this evil [zlo]?

Bronislaw Syzdek: The development of the centralist-bureaucratic system was a process, the forerunners of which existed in various forms in 1944 or perhaps even

earlier. The basic departure from the Polish road to socialism took place after the plenum held in August-September 1948 and was approved in the resolutions of the unity congress of the Polish Workers Party [PPR] and the Polish Socialist Party [PPS] in December 1948.

Eleonora Syzdek: But the unity congress unfolded extremely optimistic prospects for Poland's development. They stimulated imagination and helped to mobilize for action the members of the new united party—the PZPR.

Bronislaw Syzdek: The vision of socialism adopted at the congress was attractive, not only for the poorest people, but also for some segments of the intelligentsia. The masses looked forward to the realization of the idea of justice, and the intelligentsia hoped for opportunities for promotion. Young people, who were politically less experienced, attached the greatest hopes to these changes.

Eleonora Syzdek: How then is it possible to evaluate the strategy for action adopted at the congress?

Bronislaw Syzdek: In principle, the congress rejected the PPR and PPS concepts, and the experience of these parties in developing the new system. Large segments of the aktivs who had our national interest at heart were eliminated even before the unity congress. The strategy of the accelerated construction of socialism in urban and rural areas in line with the Soviet model and experience, which were evaluated as universal, was adopted.

Eleonora Syzdek: Some historians and political experts took the view that it was possible to speak of socialist construction in Poland only from that moment on.

Bronislaw Syzdek: If the Soviet road to socialism is to be regarded as universal, then Poland actually embarked upon this road as late as 1948. However, in light of the Leninist concept of the variety of roads to socialism, it is easy to see that that was a dogmatic viewpoint.

Eleonora Syzdek: Did the people at that time realize what an important turn was made?

Bronislaw Syzdek: At the congress everything was still veiled rather well, and it was possible to create such euphoria about the unification of the workers movement that other issues were obscured by that historic event. Besides, the state of people's democracy was still being talked about, except for the substantial difference which became apparent only later on. That difference was that it was being clearly stressed, at the same time, that this state would fulfill the function of a dictatorship of the proletariat. Perhaps only Wladyslaw Gomulka and some other PPR and PPS officials realized what all that would mean in practice, and what dangers it posed. By the way, Gomulka had the courage to spell this out at that time.

Eleonora Syzdek: This is rather beyond me. After all, the Communists have always assumed that a dictatorship of the proletariat would constitute the essence of the state, regardless of its form, during the period of transition from capitalism to socialism.

Bronislaw Syzdek: This is true. This is precisely what distinguished the Communists from the Social Democrats. However, the government system during the years under our discussion was a dictatorship of the bureaucratic apparatus.

This dictatorship was tantamount to extinguishing democracy understood as government by the people. It was no accident that Gomulka and other PPR and PPS officials representing a creative approach to Marxism stressed in 1944-47 that, through people's democracy, Poland would sooner or later develop a form of the socialist state. However, this required the preservation of the multiparty system, while preserving the two workers parties, the tying of the state to its own national traditions, and the adoption of an economic model that was different from the Soviet model.

Eleonora Syzdek: However, the unity congress rejected this line.

Bronislaw Syzdek: Efforts to standardize the entire social and political life began before the unity congress. The four youth organizations were amalgamated into the single Polish Youth Union [ZMP]. Trade unions and educational and cultural organizations were also amalgamated in this way. The thing is, however, that various organizations were not only amalgamated, but their independence was curbed, and this resulted in the withering of their genuine activities. Socialism, which was expected to stimulate the initiative and militancy of the masses and to draw on them for its strength, began to strangle people's social commitment in the emerging system of bureaucracy.

Eleonora Syzdek: Is this not an exaggeration?

Bronislaw Syzdek: In 1950 the people's councils in voivodships, powiats [now defunct], and gminas were amalgamated with the state administration offices in line with the the Soviet model. Needless to say, this curbed people's influence on the decisions made by the authorities and relieved these authorities of social control, which up to then had been exercised by the people's councils, for better or worse. If to this you add the fact that the role of the Sejm was limited to representative functions and that the Sejm was deprived of actual control over the government, you will realize what the emerging system was. At the same time, the number of ministries, posts of vice premiers, various central offices, and so on continued to grow. The role of trade unions was reduced to a minimum, and the process of bureaucratizing them was initiated. The allied parties—the ZSL and the SD—were deprived of independence and were used as the so-called party's channels to nonproletarian

communities. In this way all decisions were monopolized in the hands of the party, especially in the hands of its leading echelons and of the executive apparatus. The entire public life was made political in the extreme.

Eleonora Syzdek: Perhaps it was inevitable at that stage of development? Bronislaw Syzdek: I doubt that. On the basis of the congress resolutions, which proclaimed a war on capitalism and private property in all its forms, everything was nationalized, even small workshops and cooperatives. Trades and cooperatives were in fact eliminated during those years, because they did not fit in with the accepted model of socialism. Almost all economic decisions were concentrated in the State Economic Planning Commission, which was headed by Hilary Minc. Incidentally, Minc serves as an example of how posts can be accumulated by one person. He was simultaneously a member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and a government vice premier. He also headed the Council of Ministers Economic Committee. This was also the case with other activists. Consequently, power was concentrated in the hands of a few people.

At the other end of the scale, workplaces were run by an all-powerful economic administration, in fact, by management that came from the nomenklatura, that is, people who were nominated for these positions. A system constructed in this way acted as a check on all forms of initiative and independence.

Eleonora Syzdek: There were also a lot of changes in the countryside.

Bronislaw Syzdek: The policy of rapid industrialization made it necessary to place a heavy burden on the countryside in the form of various services and to limit the resources needed for the expansion of agricultural production. In addition, a simplified yardstick for determining class divisions in the countryside was employed. Frequently, medium-sized farmers or just those who managed their farms well were considered capitalists and commonly called "kulaks." For this reason they were subject to heavy taxation, which led to the decline of many farms. Forced collectivization was started, that is, the creation of production cooperatives. This provoked resistance, which in turn gave rise to new repressions. In 1951 the so-called Gryfice affair caused a furor throughout the whole country.

Many party and state functionaries were punished for using brutal methods against peasant farmers, but the general policy line was not altered. More than 10,000 cooperatives were established, but most of them lacked sound foundations.

Apart from leading to a decline in agricultural output, the policy intensified feelings of animosity toward the authorities, and thus deprived them of essential support. Actually, the authorities could only count on the support of poor peasant farmers and worker-peasants.

The principle of the worker-peasant alliance, which was meant to be the cornerstone of popular democracy, was violated in practice.

Eleonora Syzdek: Nevertheless, despite these deformations, the central command system that was adopted did initially make it possible to achieve significant economic progress. It made it possible to overcome the difficulties of the postwar period relatively quickly and to initiate the process of eliminating economic backwardness. An enthusiasm for work was generated, which it was later difficult to maintain at the same level. Labor competitions did not always look they way they are depicted in Andrzej Wajda's film "Man of Marble"....

Bronislaw Syzdek: In discussing these years it is very difficult to separate what is positive from what was mistaken and posed a danger for socialism's future in Poland. On the one hand, there was an eagerness to create—it is true to say that propaganda played an important part in producing this mood—and, on the other hand, there was "wage-leveling," which did not encourage higher productivity. The historic role of the workers' class in constructing a new order was constantly proclaimed, but in reality not even the slightest criticism of the neglect, disorder, and abuses perpetrated by workplace administrations was permitted. This not only discouraged people but also led to opposition, which gradually grew.

Eleonora Syzdek: Would it have been possible to achieve this rapid and surely essential stage of industrialization in some other way? The example of the Soviet Union had shown that this path produced tangible results in this area.

Bronislaw Syzdek: The Soviet Union was subject to both domestic and international pressure, that is why I would not place these matters on the same plane. Poland did not have to adopt a similar rate of industrialization and bear the costs that it entailed. The flawed system of government meant that sites for individual facilities were chosen in an arbitrary way without consideration being given to economic factors. For example, it was decided to build Nowa Huta outside Krakow, because it was to give Krakow a workers class character. This was also true of the decision concerning the site chosen for Huta Warszawa and other large investment projects.

The price paid for economic decisions that were not thought out carefully was borne by all society. All this had a bearing on the fact that the population's standard of living, and especially that of the workers' class, remained low. Of course, it is difficult to deny that, in spite of this, national development was taking place on a scale that had previously been unheard of. In a relatively short period of time, Poland was transformed from an agricultural into an industrial-agricultural country. But did the price for this have to be one generation? [sentence as published] I have serious doubts about that.

Eleonora Syzdek: I think that it is easier to understand and explain mistakes in the economic field: the lack of experience, having to start from the beginning, and the complex international situation. It is more difficult, however, to explain the large-scale repression that was instituted.

Bronislaw Syzdek: Persecution stepped up in 1949, following the infamous PZPR Central Committee Plenum which took place under the banner of increased revolutionary sensitivity. A false Stalinist thesis about a sharpening of the class struggle in line with progress in socialist construction was adopted. But already at the end of 1948 there was a groundless trial of PPS activists, with Kazimierz Puzak at their head. Wlodzimierz Lechowicz, former minister of supply and Sejm deputy, was also arrested. He was imprisoned despite his immunity as Sejm deputy. W. Gomulka, Z. Kliszka, and M. Spychalski were removed from the party authorities at the said plenum. Thousands of people who had fought against fascism suddenly found themselves in prison. They included former soldiers in the Home Army, Peasant Battalions, People's Guard, and People's Army, plus others who had fought in the West and in Spain, not to mention PPR and PPS activists. Under various pretexts, people who had never opposed people's rule in Poland were removed from active life. An atmosphere of suspicion, fear, and mistrust was created. It even paralyzed the work of those in the party and state apparatus.

Eleonora Syzdek: The persecution in Poland is considered mild compared to what happened in Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Bulgaria. No distinguished Polish party and state leader was liquidated.

Bronislaw Syzdek: Indeed, the persecution in Poland was somewhat milder. But of course this is no reason to justify it. After all, many people were tried, for example the groups attached to Generals Stanislaw Tatar and Grzegorz Korczynski. Trials against W. Gomulka and M. Spychalski were prepared. About 40 death sentences were passed, most of which were carried out, including against 19 officers. Many more died in prison or committed suicide. The methods used during interrogations sometimes exceeded the torture used by the medieval Inquisition. All this seems even more improbable when one realizes that it took place just a few years after the tragedies and cruelty of World War II.

However, one of the reasons for it must be the fact that it is not so easy to terrorize and break Poles, and throw them on their knees. This is evidenced by the national uprisings and by the resistance movement during the Hitlerite occupation, a movement that was developed on an unheard-of scale. This is of course merely an assumption. The reasons for the milder Polish persecution may also be sought in Poland's connections with the West and by the Polish people's old prejudice against Russia, to which Stalin certainly contributed. Another possible explanation is the fact that the entire Polish Communist Party [KPP] leadership was liquidated in Russia in 1938.

Eleonora Syzdek: What did they want to achieve by applying such terror?

Bronislaw Syzdek: All we can do is surmise. When they introduced a Stalinist model of socialism to Poland and standardized the socioeconomic and political system so quickly, I think they had to expect opposition from a people who were attached to their traditions and democracy and were sensitive to the question of sovereignty. They decided that, if they could eliminate influential figures who enjoyed prestige in the eyes of society, they would achieve their objective. The circle of opponents became ever wider, because an atmosphere of fear and danger was forming. Of course, one cannot disregard the strength of the real political opposition in Poland, a large group of opponents caused by the sociopolitical changes in 1944. However, the persecution was not directed against these people.

There was also a deliberate attempt to weaken the national spirit. Under the banner of a struggle against nationalism, the influence of which was exaggerated, the nation was deprived of access to a major part of its spiritual heritage. Of course, it is difficult to question the need for critical revaluations in culture and science. Every new political stream carries these out. But the devastating criticism of national traditions, certain philosophical streams, literature, and even individual writers and scholars impoverished the intellectual life of the nation and impoverished its history. College students learnt about the dogmatic version of Marxism, without the possibility of comparing it with other existing streams of Polish philosophy. Wladyslaw Tatarkiewicz's "History of Philosophy" and many works by Tadeusz Kotarbinski were banned. Eminent scholars were removed from the universities and their places taken by instant "Marxists" who considered Josef Stalin to be the fourth classic author in Polish philosophy. History, especially the most recent history, was used as a tool.

Eleonora Syzdek: There was also an attempt to discredit the Catholic Church.

Bronislaw Syzdek: The church was considered a fountain of nationalism and clericalism. The fact that it was connected with Rome was an additional burden. But the church was a difficult opponent. During the long-lasting national slavery, it defended Polish values and established a strong link with the people, most of whom were of course Catholic. Now there was an attempt to eliminate religion from public life by applying primitive atheist propaganda and administrative measures. Because Primate Stefan Wyszynski enjoyed a huge amount of prestige in the church and among society, he was interned in 1953. However, this policy neither destroyed religion nor strengthened it. All it did was to make the authorities more hostile in the eyes of believers. Of course, it is difficult not to notice that life became more secular, in line with the general social changes.

Eleonora Syzdek: Stalin alone is frequently blamed for all these errors.

Bronislaw Syzdek: In Poland too there were avowed supporters of the Stalinist model of socialism, and they implemented it with complete conviction and consistency, explaining that there was no other way. The book by Teresa Toranska published in the West, called "They" ["Oni"] is an attempt to erase this picture. It contains interviews with many activists responsible for everything that happened in Poland between 1948 and 1956.

Although Toranska's interlocutors do not feel responsible for what they did, some of them, particularly Jakub Berman, insist that they "rescued Poland" from "something worse."

Eleonora Syzdek: Can one assume then that the chance of a Polish revolution was wasted when the Polish path of socialism was rejected?

Bronislaw Syzdek: That is an excessively far-reaching conclusion. For one must remember that it is never possible to eliminate a stream that is deeply embedded in society and the nation. This is evidenced not only by the Polish October 1956, but also by subsequent about-turns which included attempts to return to the roots of the revolution.

Historian Views March 1968 Party Records

AU181041 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish
5 Mar 88 p 3

[Interview with Professor Zenobiusz Kozik by Marian Turski, head of the POLITYKA History Department: "Wladyslaw Gomulka Considered Himself Beleaguered in a Fortress—About March 1968"—date and place not given]

[Turski] You are the second professor who has been able to consult the party archives on the events in March 1968 as well as before and after. Is it possible after 20 years for a historian to establish from the original records who were the people or groups of people who managed the March events? The present literature on those events often repeats terms such as "conspiracy," "conspiratorial circles," and "putsch" and refers these terms both to the young people's large-scale movement and to the establishment circles that wanted personal changes in the power apparatus. (Kazimierz Kakol, one of the leading propagandists in those days, even used the term "coup d'etat.") Did you find anything in the archives to confirm this?

[Kozik] I did not find any documents about such activities, but one can attempt to explain such hypotheses by consulting indirect sources. It is a fact that 15 young persons were tried after those events, but the activists who were known in the previous years and whom official party propaganda accused of inspiring disruptive movements, of managing them in a conspiracy, and of illegal activities were never named or tried.

[Turski] A communique was even published that a bomb had been deposited in the censor's office and that perpetrators would be found and punished....

[Kozik] I did not find any confirmation of this in the archives, but one thing is certain: Historians are unable to answer this question responsibly, since it has still not been unequivocally ascertained who belonged to executive centers and to which one in particular. The Politburo protocols show that the so-called March events were regarded as an attack by the united-right wing forces and the associated revisionist groups. It is hard to find any records confirming that there were internal divisions in the party, although such divisions continued to be suggested on all sides, and the party leadership knew about these suggestions at that time. However, it is impossible to deny that various streams, including factional streams, existed within the party leadership and in the echelon immediately below. Some of the reasons for such assumptions are the allegations then circulated about the origins and ethnic affiliation of some members of the leadership. These origins have still not been established. Other reasons include the slogans and banners that were alien to socialist ideology and were politically irresponsible and harmful. They were withdrawn only when Gomulka categorically demanded their withdrawal. It is also difficult to establish who inspired various chauvinist publications and who stage-managed some irritating happenings.

[Turski] What about the thesis put forward by many publications that a command center was created around Mieczyslaw Moczar in March 1968? Those behind this thesis also had in mind the so-called partisan movement, which wanted Moczar to succeed Gomulka.

[Kozik] At the start of the March events M. Moczar was minister of internal affairs. During March 1968 and in the following months he was therefore in charge of all activities of the internal services in these events. As the chairman of the Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy, M. Moczar was a public figure. When he became chairman of the union in the fall of 1964, the issue of the veterans and of national patriotism began to be given much attention. As was obvious, Moczar himself tried to gain popularity and publicity.

I am familiar with the hypotheses connected with the so-called partisan movement. They appear to be credible in the light of later events, but a historian does not normally believe in hypotheses. It is improbable that Moczar was directly interested, at least in the initial period, in becoming a leader. Still, his activities to

popularize himself, especially as chairman of the veterans' union, and his work to frustrate what was alleged to be the danger threatening socialism in 1968 made him a figure that attracted adherents in many circles, including the party.

I have said that there might have been various streams in the party. By appointing M. Moczar in July 1968 as Central Committee secretary and by making him a member of the Politburo, albeit a candidate member, Gomulka wanted to clearly deny that there were any divisions within the party.

[Turski] Was not M. Moczar's appointment a so-called kick upstairs? Did not this formal advancement in the party-political hierarchy constitute an attempt to reduce the extent of his powers and his ability to control and influence the party apparatus?

[Kozik] The archives confirm this hypothesis, which is more than a hypothesis. Indirectly we can draw such a conclusion from what Gomulka said ("let us have him closer to the leadership") when he proposed Moczar as a Central Committee secretary and suggested that Moczar's vice minister, Kazimierz Switala, should become minister of internal affairs....

[Turski] After Edward Gierek's candidate, Franciszek Szlachcic, was rejected?

[Kozik] Yes.

[Turski] During the March events the most clamorous press accused the "opposition, commandoes, revisionists, Zionists, and Stalinists" of demanding that Roman Zambrowski should return to the Politburo. Do your studies suggest that this demand was really made and that Zambrowski participated in those events?

[Kozik] I can state most responsibly that my studies of the records of the time do not confirm that such a demand was made. Nor is there anything to confirm that R. Zambrowski directly participated in the March events. Besides, he wrote a letter to Gomulka in which he denied any participation in those events.

[Turski] Was Gomulka in control over the Polish situation in the spring of 1968? Or did he think that the situation was slipping out of his control?

[Kozik] The documents I have studied suggest that he considered himself to be beleaguered in a fortress. He really believed that antisocialist and revisionist forces were developing a joint attack and saw in this an analogy to events in Czechoslovakia. But he also realized that he had been maneuvered into that situation by the forces within the party. This is certain, all the more so since he responded sharply to the assurances of special loyalty addressed to him. In addition, I have no doubt that he felt that he was to blame for the fact that the entire post-October [1956] policy, which he thought to have been too liberal and denuded of ideology, had been of little effect. He was obviously pained that events ran ahead of his imagination and escaped his control. I have in mind the movement to settle accounts and to impose restrictions, as well as the conclusions drawn from the thesis about the dangers of Zionism in Poland. When he realized what results his own opinion ("the fifth column") had produced, he immediately withdrew and modified this opinion at the 1967 [year as published] trade union congress.

[Turski] Do the archives show that Gomulka was ashamed of the fact that features of anti-Semitism were present in the party?

[Kozik] Yes. What is more, he dissociated himself and the party from such features. For example, he ordered the removal of anti-Jewish slogans from the Congress Hall and later on he did much to compensate for inflicted wrongs. I have in mind his action vis-a-vis the entire leadership of the Warsaw Committee, which was invited to attend a long meeting with the Central Committee Secretariat. Gomulka spoke at that meeting and cited many examples to illustrate the irregularities of cadre policy. The meeting had two levels. The first level evaluated what was called proper activities, and the second level was devoted to Gomulka's enumeration of distortions and irregularities. He cited specific examples. In a special letter addressed to Warsaw party organizations he asked for the summing up and appraising of all activities, including distortions, of the Warsaw party organization. The result of the meeting was the "compensation" letter written on Gomulka's initiative by the Warsaw Committee's executive body to Warsaw party organizations. The letter, which was composed in a critical vein, promised to rectify the wrong decisions, but, unfortunately, this was never done.

[Turski] Did Gomulka realize that, because of the nonexistence in our country of the tradition by which government can be changed in a peaceful and democratic way, he faced an attempt to take over power by younger men?

[Kozik] Probably not. Gomulka was not old! He was 63 and felt on top of his age....

[Turski] But the attack was launched by those in their forties and fifties....

[Kozik] Certainly.

[Turski] Speaking of summing up: What were the results of cadre changes in the Warsaw party organization?

[Kozik] The records of the Warsaw PZPR Committee show that, between March and May 1968, 483 persons were removed from leading positions in Warsaw, including 365 persons from ministries and central institutions, 49 from scientific centers, 24 from the press and cultural establishments, and 39 from production and service

enterprises. From the Warsaw party 30 leading figures were removed, including 6 ministers and vice ministers, and 35 general and departmental directors. In addition, six study courses run by the economic, philosophical, and pedagogical faculties of Warsaw University were eliminated, which meant that about 1,600 students of these courses alone temporarily lost their academic rights and could regain them only when they were allowed to register for the newly established social sciences faculty.

[Turski] Can you supply any data not referring to Warsaw?

[Kozik] Many persons—77 in all—were removed from leading positions in Gdansk Voivodship, and party members were removed from the party in Wroclaw and Lodz Voivodships. Between 8 March and 8 April, 2,730 persons were detained throughout the country, but 1,858 of them had to be released for lack of evidence. Temporary detention was applied against 153 persons and court arrest orders were applied against 132 persons, including 46 students. Fines were imposed on 211 persons, including 47 students, 15 of whom were adjudged to have been the so-called organizational backbone of illegal activities. Many students—their number cannot be established with precision—were dismissed from universities for violating university regulations and study rules. Many of these students therefore had to do their military service, from which they had been exempted during the period of study.

[Turski] It seems that the March events were a kind of shock for Gomulka, who seemed to have withdrawn from public life during the first days. It was only later on that he became his old self, probably during the 19 March rally at the Congress Hall.

[Kozik] If we assume that the return of the flow of his energy began with his public speech on 19 March, we have to agree that this speech was militant and analytical. It viewed the issue of Zionism in different ways, that is, not as the main danger. It viewed in different ways the attitude of the Jewish population, the conduct of students, and so on. During his speech Gomulka's personal response to the shouts from the audience also showed that he was determined. The impression that he was shocked could have arisen because of the extent to which repression was used and because of the cases of rash behavior, which he discussed in very clear terms and quite sharply during his meeting with the executive body of the Warsaw PZPR Committee on 28 May 1968. One reason for this reaction was the fact that he had read many letters sent to him. At that meeting he also used the arguments contained in these letters. [Turski] Did the Warsaw PZPR Committee and Jozef Kepa, its first secretary, take action on their own behalf or were they steered from the outside?

[Kozik] Everything indicates that in March 1968 the Warsaw Committee was most independent in the scope of its activities. It was just as independent even in relation to the Central Committee's individual departments. The Central Committee respected the role of the master of Warsaw quite clearly. On the strength of the records I studied I would not assert that the Warsaw Committee was steered from the outside. These records can be supplemented by the eyewitness accounts of participants in those events, but a researcher cannot rely on these accounts because they are contradictory. All the same, there was a flow of information between the government bodies, especially the bodies-keeping order and the security bodies, and the leadership of the Warsaw party.

The fact that later on some activities of the Warsaw Committee were disapproved might suggest that the Central Committee leadership did not do any steering....

[Turski] Do you mean the Central Committee leadership, rather than the individual members of this leadership?

[Kozik] I mean the leadership as represented by the first secretary....

[Turski] Do you know who decided that the militia should use clubs in the Warsaw University courtyard?

[Kozik] The archives I know contain little information on this subject, but they indicate that this possibility was considered beforehand. The workers aktivs and the Volunteer Reserve of Citizens' Militia were also mobilized beforehand. The Central Committee knew a few days ahead that a rally at Warsaw University was being prepared. Students also knew where and when the rally would take place.

[Turski] Which member of the Central Committee was against such treatment of young people in Warsaw and other cities?

[Kozik] Central Committee Member Stefan Zolkiewski was against such treatment and said so expressis verbis, thus joining the many scientists who expressed the same views. He suffered the consequences and, like Adam Schaff, was removed from the Central Committee in July 1968.

[Turski] How do you explain the fact that, between 10 and 31 March in particular, the press and especially some of its headlines assumed an almost uniform tenor—as if they were vigorously stage-managed?

[Kozik] As ever, the tenor and language were copied from above, from Warsaw downward. But if you read and analyze the press of those days you will see that its tenor and language were not identical. This could be seen in headlines and other elements. Things were the same in voivodships. Let me stress that a deviation from the

general tenor—your weekly did deviate in this way—was sharply criticized, not only by other publications, but also by the political centers. The sharp tenor used by the press was, as a rule, accepted as militant and principled. At the same time, some members of the party leadership (for example, Stefan Jedrychowski, Edward Ochab, and Jerzy Albrecht) leveled sharp criticism against various exaggerations, including the too rash generalizations about the individual behavior of the children of prominent figures, against the excessive use of the term Zionism, and about relating it to or equating it with revisionism.

[Turski] Did the center know about the coming rally at Katowice on 14 March and about the series of rallies initiated by Katowice? Perhaps the center inspired the Katowice rally? Or was this Edward Gierek's own, local initiative?

[Kozik] The information system at that time made it impossible to keep such plans a secret from the center. What for? The Katowice rally on 14 March, which was attended by about 100,000 participants according to the information of the time, was in line with the same political-propaganda convention that governed the rallies and meetings in Warsaw production enterprises. It used the same slogans and shouts, and the only difference was that it was given maximum publicity in the daily press and radio and was the first of a series of such rallies in the main cities of Poland. The press published excerpts from Edward Gierek's speech, especially stressing his loyalty to Wladyslaw Gomulka. It is worth adding that later on Gomulka criticized this homage to his person.

[Turski] People say that March was a demonstration of anti-intelligentsia attitudes....

[Kozik] It is difficult to say that, as a whole, March demonstrated anti-intelligentsia attitudes. Nor would I say that it was exclusively anti-Semitic, although intellectual circles regarded March events as anti-Semitic, as was indicated by the famous slogan: "Writers should write and students should study...."

[Turski] Did March close a decade of misunderstandings or, more precisely, of the absence of understanding between the authorities and the intelligentsia? [Kozik] March really ended a period of confrontation with creative communities, and this end marked the beginning of certain reflections in the leadership, but it was already difficult to make good the past. Dialogue was not a feature of the post-October [1956] cultural policy, especially dialogue with various intelligentsia communities. For example, the party-state leadership regarded the 1964 "Letter of the 34" as a demonstration of liberal-bourgeois activities and applied downright restrictive (passport, publication) measures against many signatories of the letter, who were prominent intellectuals. At the same time, many of them were invited for a talk with the premier. Inconsistent actions were taken, although restrictions ruled the day.

Let me just recall that M.Wankowicz and J.N. Miller were put on trial and sentenced, but Wankowicz's sentence was never carried out. Another example is the July 1967 campaign launched by some sections of the press concerning the term "death camps" used by the Great Encyclopedia. Persons of Jewish origin who were grouped around the State Publishing House for Scholarly Works were made responsible for the definition of that term. There was much hullabaloo and a lot of hooey, investigations were held, and slanders abounded, but it was soon established that the term "death camps" was quite correct because it referred to the camps in which death was the only and immediate way out—camps such as Treblinka, Belzec, Sobibor, and Chelmno. The campaign against the so-called encyclopedists was in a way a harbinger of what was to come.

[Turski] Any documents on changes in the academic community?

[Kozik] The criteria of academic promotion were lowered, especially since quite a number of leading positions were given to new docents. Still, this greatly rejuvenated the cadre of independent scientific workers. Throughout the country 575 professors and docents out the total number of about 4,500 were promoted.

All other measures sought primarily to reinstate the previously neglected educational elements within the scientific-didactic process and to extend the range of the so-called sociopolitical subjects. Students had to undergo practical experience as workers, and the scholarship system was modified in that it was tied to future jobs. Class origins were taken into consideration when admitting students to universities. The modified university act abolished the autonomy of universities and increased the powers of supervising bodies.

Many personnel measures were mainly repressive. For example, 26 percent of rectors and 62 percent of prorectors were sent packing. Other painful measures, which greatly agitated the public, included banning people from teaching for political reasons. These measures were rather frequent and often involved prominent people, including 70 professors and docents, most of them in Warsaw. More professors and docents were scheduled to be banned from teaching, but the minister refrained from banning them. Many scholars were removed from universities in a drastic [drastyczny] way—in accordance with legal regulations. Others were removed because of the strict application at the time of the rules governing the number of actual vacancies. Persons in leading positions in the Polish Academy of Sciences and in ministerial institutes, including the Nuclear Research Institute, were also dismissed.

[Turski] It is common knowledge that in March 1968 the Episcopate composed a letter on those events, but did not publish it. Is there any trace of that letter?

[Kozik] The letter was published, but only as a handout. The press, including the religious press, did not publish it. Still, it was quoted in churches, but even then some opinion-forming communities blamed the Episcopate for waiting too long with it—until 21 March.

[Turski] How far did March 1968 change Poland's image in the world?

[Kozik] We cannot ignore the fact that the exaggeration of national issues during those days has affected Poland's image in many countries to this very day. Some communist parties and many left-wing activists also expressed their concern in this regard.

[Turski] What other archives, aside from the party archives you have studied, can be useful in analyzing those March events?

[Kozik] The still unexamined archives of the Ministry of Internal Affairs will certainly be useful, and this also goes for the accounts made by, say, the stage actors [aktorzy sceny], but under the condition that these archives are studied in line with the principle of archival criticism, which calls for confrontation and verification with other archives and sources.

The passage of time favors the application of objective criteria of analyzing and evaluating archival documents. However, one has to cope with the personal entanglements and emotional reactions of the participants in that drama, and with people's tendency to be subjective in appraisals. That is why historians have to cope with restricted opportunities for research.

Presidency Assesses Gorbachev's Visit

LD232044 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1805 GMT 23 Mar 88

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, March 23 (TANJUG)—The recent visit to Yugoslavia of Soviet party leader Mikhail Gorbachev and Gorbachev's talks with Yugoslav leaders unfolded in a spirit of friendship, openness and full mutual acknowledgement, as the Yugoslav State Presidency assessed today.

The Yugoslav State Presidency set out that the substance of the Yugoslav-Soviet talks and the signed documents provided a strong impulse to the further development of relations between the two countries and the advancement of their cooperation in all areas, which is not only of a bilateral but is also of a broader importance, as it underscored.

Underlining the outstanding importance of the Yugoslav-Soviet declaration, the Yugoslav State Presidency set out that the document reaffirmed and enriched the principles of (?respect) for independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, equality and non-interference in the internal affairs of others, contained in the 1955 Belgrade and the 1956 Moscow Declarations.

The declaration, proceeding from respect for the differences in the internal development and the international positions of the two countries, represents a strong practical confirmation of the tested foundations on which relations and cooperation between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union are based and of the two countries' readiness further to advance their relations on those same foundations, the Yugoslav State Presidency assessed.

Assessing as positive the exchanges of views on the substance and level of Yugoslav-Soviet cooperation, the Yugoslav State Presidency established that it was necessary to eliminate lags and difficulties which burden economic relations between the two countries, including to eliminate the Yugoslav surplus in the mutual economic exchange.

The Yugoslav State Presidency pointed out that broad possibilities and mutual needs existed for updating the economic exchange through more advanced forms of production cooperation, joint investments and the like, in keeping with the contemporary technological development in the world.

The Yugoslav State Presidency assessed that the signed programme of economic cooperation through the year 2000 provided a good basis for a successful development of the bilateral economic cooperation on long-term and stable foundations.

Noting that useful exchanges of views were carried out on a wide range of international problems, the Yugoslav State Presidency specified that the world situation was discussed, especially in the light of the need and initiatives for strengthening peace and the process of understanding, for democratizing international political and economic relations and reaching solutions to hotbeds of crises in the world.

The Yugoslav State Presidency placed special accent on the need for broadening the processes of understanding, dialogue and the solution of all problems by peaceful means and on the need for all countries to participate in those processes. The Presidency underscored the great importance the policy and movement of non-aligned countries have as a global, independent and non-bloc factor.

Gorbachev Mediterranean Initiative Assessed

AU231352 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
21 Mar 88 p 7

[Dimitrije Seserinac commentary: "Everybody Gains"]

[Excerpts] If Europe is the most armed part of the world's land mass, the Mediterranean is the most armed part of the world's waters. Neither of the two phenomena is accidental.

The Mediterranean represents the geographic link to all continents and the only link between the Atlantic and Indian Oceans. In the strategic sense, the Mediterranean basin is actually the southern wing of bloc forces where they border each other in the European theater of war Geostrategically viewed, however, this southern wing offers NATO, that is, the United States, the potential for offensive action against the Soviet Union or, as Admiral Zartman, chief of the Admiral Staff of the U.S. Navy [name and title as transliterated], put it, "the Mediterranean is a hand extended into the heart of Soviet land." On the other hand, since they hold key operational strategic points in the Mediterranean, NATO and the United States can limit or completely prevent the access of armed forces, above all naval forces, of the USSR and the Warsaw Pact, to the Mediterranean basin. This means limiting or preventing access to the wider region of the African Continent and part of Asia. By ensuring the existince of bases and strongholds deeper into African and Asian countries in the Mediterranean region, the United States can create deeper operational strategic strongholds for the action of the entire bloc toward the part of Euroasian land held by the forces of the USSR and the Warsaw Pact.

From the perspective of the Warsaw Pact, the Mediterranean has more significance as a peripheral defense zone that must be kept under control with a view to securing and defending its southern flank than for offensive activities. Namely, the straits through which the

Warsaw Pact naval forces must pass under conditions of war make the strategic maneuvering of the USSR forces difficult or completely impossible.

Increase in Armaments [subhead]

Such a positioning of the sides in the Mediterranean basin has a special significance because of the insufficient length of the line of confrontation between the two sides' forces and because of the possibility for a strategic envelopment on the southern flank by the NATO forces.

Apart from all this mentioned above, the Mediterranean, with its coastal region including many important countries that do not belong to one side or the other, offers the possibility of an activity of armed forces against those countries within the framework of the special approach strategy and, of course, the special forms of war activities, that is, special war activities. [sentence as published]

It is completely unnecessary to stress in particular to what extent our country's place, role, security, and even its normal development directly depends on all those elements of the geostrategic and geopolitical situation in this region.

Because of all this mentioned above, since the very beginning of the aggravation of relations between them, the great powers keep considerable naval, air, and even army forces here, or those forces that can be used for activities on land. In fact, the first causes of conflicts between the two great powers were located in the wider Mediterranean region.

As was said in Gorbachev's speech at the SFRY Assembly, from time to time tension would be released, but the number of armaments have been on the increase all the time. This applies to the Mediterranean in particular. [passage omitted]

Exactly because of the situation in the Mediterranean region, the initiative that CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Gorbachev presented in the proposals he made at the SFRY Assembly has first-class importance for the further development of world relations, for the release of tension, and for negotiations on disarmament, but also for our country's security. It is reasonable and positive for the very reason that there cannot be disarmament in one sphere only, while the race to reach the impossible, that is, the superiority over the other side, would continue in other spheres—be it in Europe or in the Mediterranean.

Moreover, disarmament in only one sphere is virtually impossible, because the problem of disarmament is a complex question, above all a question of relations among countries, that is, a political question. This is a question of halting and eliminating existing antagonisms and a question of overcoming contradictions in a reasonable way. And it is impossible to overcome contradictions in one area and increase or aggravate them in the other.

Disarmament as a form of victory of reason must, therefore, be either general or nothing at all, because it exists for the benefit of everybody and not somebody in particular. It really has to be a result of the democratization of relations among countries, and this democratization must be an acknowledged need, just as the democratization of relations in a society or a country is an acknowledged need.

It is impermissible to watch who is losing and who is gaining in this proposal. An agreement can survive only if everybody gains. Here this is the case exactly, because by putting a freeze on fleet capability the USSR would gain, as somebody from the United States might say. However, the United States does not and cannot lose either. The risk of war and war itself are not, nor can they be, useful to anybody. Besides, to keep the most expensive form of armed forces in such far away places is of no use to the United States considering the high price. The military budget deficit of over $200 billion is clear confirmation of the thesis.

The initiative on reducing armaments in the region is hugely important for our country and to all small and nonaligned countries in the Mediterranean. It means, or can mean, an end to competition between the great powers, an attempt at solving contradictions in the region by reasonable methods, and peace in this area that has always been so necessary.

Press Accounts of Gorbachev Visit to Serbia

Gorbachev's Luncheon Toast

AU221706 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 17 Mar p 3

[Mikhail Gorbachev's toast during a luncheon held in his honor by the leadership of the SR of Serbia—in Belgrade on 16 March]

[Text] Respected Comrade Gracanin, respected Comrade Milosevic, dear friends.

First of all, I would like to express my thanks for the kind [lep] words that we have heard at this time, addressed to our country and people. I and my colleagues have been impressed by our friendly and warm reception by the highest organ of state authority and self-management, the SFRY Assembly.

This again affirms that the vanguard forces of Yugoslav society are struggling for an overall development of relations between our parties and countries which are based on the firm foundation of jointly established principles.

I will yet again confirm here that the Soviet party leadership also has the same intentions. I will say openly that no less important is the expression of the pleasant [lep] feelings which we, as well as you, had during our visit to the Ivo Lola Ribar factory and the meetings and discussions we have just had with working people and Belgrade citizens.

We are justified in saying that we, with you, are adequately expressing the desire of our peoples who aspire to a mutual rapprochement, an expansion of cooperation, and the strengthening of Soviet-Yugoslav friendship.

Dear friends, long and nice [lep] historical traditions from the past bind the Russian and Serbian peoples. Russia's best representatives have always viewed the liberation traditions of the southern Slavs with deep affinity, they came with help at the the most crucial turning points in their dramatic history. Hundreds of Russian soldiers fought in the Serbian Army, and the names of General Chernyayev and Colonel Rayevskiy have been immortalized in Belgrade.

Or, another irrefutable proof and example—this time from the history of our intellectual culture—is that our Pushkin translated the famous poems of the South Slavs collected by Vuk Karadzic.

Comrades, I think you will agree that there is what I call an inherent predisposition to kindness and a striving for friendship in the heart of every Russian and Serb.

To return to today's business, I want to share the following thought with you: Along with the development of Soviet-Yugoslav interstate relations as a whole, we are establishing links with you on a republican level. During negotiations with the LCY and SFRY leaderships, a real desire was expressed for the stimulation of relations along this additional track of cooperation. In this sense, the RSFSR and Serbia, for example, have made particular progress, but all possibilities have not been entirely exhausted. Today, now that we have decentralized the field of foreign economic relations, we have actually swept aside all barriers to the further working out of direct links between our enterprises and their partners from fraternal countries, and many new projects of mutual interest to the two countries will probably be realized. It would be nice if the Serbian and Russian peoples were to set a good example to our other republics.

I wish the party and state leaderships of Serbia further successes in the overall development of the republic and an increase in its contribution to the joint socialist cause of the people of Yugoslavia. I wish health and well-being to all comrades present here.

Talks With Serbian Leaders

AU231510 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 17 Mar 88 p 4

[R.Bajalski report "Talks Gracanin and Milosevic Had With Gorbachev"]

[Text] Petar Gracanin and Slobodan Milosevic were the first to welcome Mikhail Gorbachev and his wife Raisa at the building of the Presidency of the SR of Serbia yesterday [16 March] at 1230. Before the meeting and talks started, other leaders of the SR of Serbia were introduced to the prominent guest.

It was stressed during the talks about questions of economic cooperation that with its 41-percent participation in trade, the Serbian economy has the largest share in Yugoslav exports and makes an active contribution to the economic cooperation between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union. Considering both sides' interests and still unused potential and doing so in conformity with the restructuring of the economies, one should seek new roads toward expanding and intensifying forms of cooperation such as joint industrial projects, specialization, joint enterprises, etc. The economies of the SR of Serbia and the USSR are particularly interested in joint ventures, the development of high technology and modern equipment as a basis for long-term and more stable cooperation. It is important here to develop relations and cooperation between economic enterprises as close as possible while fully respecting economic interests and motives, as well as trends in the world markets.

The hosts briefed the prominent guest on the activities carried out by the LC of Serbia within the LCY on implementing congressional decisions and on solving current questions about changes in the economic and political systems. In connection with realizing the leading role of the LC in society, the efforts made by the LC of Serbia on democratizing political relations, strengthening the responsibility of all factors of the society, and increasing the efficiency of the functioning of the system and self-managing and state organs were also touched upon.

Both sides expressed satisfaction with the high degree of development and breadth of cooperation in the spheres of science, education, culture, and sports between the two countries, in which Serbia plays a significant part.

They pointed out the possibilities and needs for the further advance of cooperation and comprehensive contacts with the RSFSR with which the SR of Serbia has, for several years now, had successful cooperation in many fields.

Gorbachev Takes a Stroll Around Belgrade [subhead]

Mikhail Gorbachev and his wife Raisa used the spare time after his speech at the SFRY Assembly to take a stroll in the center of Belgrade, along Knez Mihajlo

Street, passing between dense lines of citizens. Gorbachev behaved very naturally: He approached people, shook hands with many of them and, since he naturally could not make such contact with everybody, stepped onto plant holders three or four times and waved from there, greeting Belgrade citizens.

The security people were in their places, of course, but Gorbachev broke through their "fence" in order to shake hands with individuals.

Mikhail Gorbachev and his wife Raisa walked the distance between the building of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts and the Palace Albania. They could hear shouts of "long life Gorbachev" and "long live the friendship between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union," and they would stop to view the renewed Knez Mihajlo Street and the renovated facades of old buildings.

When Gorbachev got to his car after this pleasant stroll he was confronted with foreign and domestic cameramen and reporters who—when the prominent guest and his wife drove off to the building of the Presidency of the SR of Serbia—continued interviewing Belgrade pedestrians.

The first thing Gorbachev said to Slobodan Milosevic, Petar Gracanin, and other leaders of the SR of Serbia before the talks began was the following: "Comrade Orlandic has told me that we shall have a short stroll, but still, we stayed longer and had pleasant contacts with your people."

Djuranovic, UK's Thatcher Exchange Toasts

LD232142 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1129 GMT Mar 88

[Text] London, 23 Mar (TANJUG)—In her toast Margaret Thatcher expressed hope that Veselin Djuranovic's visit to Great Britain would be successful and would contribute to the development of bilateral cooperation between the two countries.

There is no doubt, Margaret Thatcher stressed, that Yugoslavia is a unique and proud country with a rich history whose recent past is almost synonymous with the name of its greatest leader, President Tito. He was a staunch defender of Yugoslavia's independence, unity, and territorial integrity.

The British prime minister noted that, following Tito's death, Yugoslavia's leadership was faced with the task of continuing to build and develop the country along the path whose foundations were paved by President Tito despite difficult economic conditions. "You have fulfilled that task and enabled Yugoslavia to pursue its clearly defined path, proud of its independence and determined to remain nonaligned," Margaret Thatcher said.

She stressed that relations between Britain and Yugoslavia have firm foundations. From loyal allies during the war, the two countries have become loyal friends in peacetime, capable of talking to each other openly about all issues. This is not only a fact but also a necessity. "There are no great obstacles between us, and there are almost no restrictions as to the topics that we can touch upon and discuss," Margaret Thatcher said.

The British prime minister stressed that after the war Yugoslavia introduced in practice and developed its own path of socialist development. Noting the difficulties facing Yugoslavia and other countries in their development, Margaret Thatcher said that "we must counter these difficulties and overcome them." "Often in the past, the Yugoslav people showed willingness and courage. I am convinced that they will do the same now," Margaret Thatcher said. She added that, together with the IMF and other Western creditors, Great Britain was prepared to help Yugoslavia to find "a sound, long-term basis for reprogramming its debt." "Not only Britain, but also the entire European community is anxious to see Yugoslavia stable and advanced," Margaret Thatcher stressed. She drew attention to the successful development of economic cooperation between Great Britain and Yugoslavia, to the gradual fall in the Yugoslav trade deficit and noted that new agreements on economic cooperation were signed last year.

Speaking about international topics, Margaret Thatcher said that both Yugoslavia and Britain "can be encouraged by the reforms being introduced in the Soviet Union, by the treaty on removing medium-range missiles, negotiations on controlling other types of weapons that are taking place now or are about to start shortly, and by the USSR's decision to pull out of Afghanistan." In her view, this will enable us "to hope for the time of greater confidence between the East and the West." Margaret Thatcher expressed confidence that Yugoslavia, as a nonaligned country, would welcome such an outcome.

"We can be truly satisfied with the friendly and open relations between our countries. There is potential for our cooperation to expand even more in future. Your visit and our talks will contribute to that process," Margaret Thatcher said in her toast. She ended her toast with a message of friendship and support to the Yugoslav people.

In his toast, Veselin Djuranovic said that relations and diverse links between the peoples of our countries could be traced back to the last century. However, the foundations of our recent relations based on the principles of independence and sovereignty had in fact been laid by Marshal Tito and Winston Churchill at the time of the difficult but glorious days of our joint struggle against fascism. Djuranovic noted that the British prime minister was the first foreign statesman to meet the leader of the Yugoslav people's national liberation struggle in the war year of 1944.

Like Britain, Yugoslavia views the new trend of relaxing tensions in Europe as encouraging. The new Yugoslavia has always been firmly against resolving international conflicts and problems with force and interventions. It has always firmly opposed interference in the internal affairs of others and all forms of domination but has always favored peaceful solutions to international conflicts and problems with full respect for sovereignty, territorial integrity, and the right of all people to be masters of their own destiny.

Proceeding from these lasting principles, we are today endeavoring to make ever-greater contributions to the process of detente and to all positive trends in international relations. This is borne out by our activity within the Nonaligned Movement.

Djuranovic said that Yugoslavia gave full credit and support to all the participants in the process of detente but that there should be no halt and that the utmost effort should be made to translate this step into a continuing process of disarmament, detente and further democratization in international relations with the aim of creating a world of peace, a world without arms.

"We in Yugoslavia have always stressed that Europe belongs to all Europeans and that all the CSCE participants have not just a duty but also the right to take part in it. Going beyond this we think that, if they are to become permanent, these processes should assume a universal character and become a common heritage of all, not just of the people in Europe. I can assure you that nonaligned Yugoslavia will continue to contribute to the stability of relations on our continent. This policy was outlined by President Tito and has become our firm and lasting commitment."

Djuranovic noted that Yugoslavia had embarked on adopting new solutions to the economic system and economic policy.

Realistic assessments of all the circumstances and of our situation indicate that our efforts will yield greater results in a shorter space of time with the help and support from our foreign partners. In our view this is mutually advantageous and is in the interests of the continuing trends in economic cooperation. It will also help to consolidate Yugoslavia's international position in line with current political imperatives.

Djuranovic said that the present level in our relations provided new opportunities for bilateral cooperation but that joint efforts continue to be necessary. Under the conditions of the new scientific and technological revolution, we must search for new ways and constantly enrich the existing forms of cooperation. To this aim it is necessary to enrich our economic relations, which we assess in positive terms and which have been developing on an increasingly balanced basis, by new and higher forms—industrial cooperation, scientific and technological cooperation, joint investment and ventures in third markets. In our view this is of common interest. We are encouraged by the fact that we agree that this is the only way to raise our overall economic relations to a higher level.

We have developed lively communication and a rich dialogue at all levels. Cooperation in tourism that you, yourself, have mentioned, is developing successfully. I would also like to add developed cultural relations and, and this is very important, a dynamic flow of people and ideas that makes an important contribution to our efforts to understand each other better.

I think that all this provides an example of how two countries of differing international positions and with different internal systems can cooperate successfully, Veselin Djuranovic, member of the SFRY Presidency, said in his toast.

Slovene President Visits U.S.

LD232325 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1205 GMT 23 Mar 88

[Text] Washington, 23 Mar (TANJUG)—France Popit, president of the Slovene Presidency, has had talks in Washington with Jim Wright, speaker of the House of Representatives. During talks that passed in a cordial atmosphere, the two sides discussed the current situation in Yugoslavia, cooperation between our country and the United States, and a number of international issues. Popit, who is on an unofficial working visit here, has been a guest of a group of congressmen of Yugoslav origin, including John Blatnik [name as received] and James Obserstar.

Popit also spoke at a meeting of the Yugoslav-U.S. Council, which was attended by about 50 eminent U.S. businessmen. They discussed the topical economic situation in Yugoslavia. The majority of questions were related to our systemic changes, primarily the laws on foreign trade and the investment of foreign capital.

The president of the Slovene Presidency will leave for Cleveland tomorrow, where he will have a number of meetings with Yugoslav emigrants and eminent representatives and businessmen of Ohio.

Trade Ties, Projects With West Examined

LD231316 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1220 GMT 23 Mar 88

[Text] Belgrade, March 23 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia has significant scientific and technical ties with western industrialized, East European and Third World countries. Last year, Yugoslav experts participated in 973 East European projects, 332 West European and 400 projects in other industrialized countries. The long- and short-term cooperation agreements involved the exchange of 1,724 experts.

It is significant that such cooperation is carried out without direct state involvement and financing. The only exception is cooperation with the United States, which is financed from a joint fund in which both sides contribute two million dollars annually.

The participation of Yugoslav experts in developing countries' projects is regulated by inter-state agreements. Their stay is financed by the partner country, but in the case of the poorest countries (such as Ethiopia and the Seychelles) Yugoslavia bears half the expenses.

According to the data published by the Yugoslav business daily ECONOMIC REVIEW today, there are almost 2,200 Yugoslav experts in developing countries. The majority of them are in Libya, followed by Algeria, Malta, Kuwait, the Dominican Republic and other countries. Last year, 154 Yugoslav experts were sent to these countries.

Most of them are doctors, economic and other experts.

Yugoslav experts last year also participated in 91 U.N. missions. Most of them are engaged in programmes of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO)—28, the U.N. Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO)—17, and the World Health Organization (WHO)—9. Also, the United Nations granted four million 125,000 dollars for Yugoslav national projects from 1987 to 1990.

A total of 113 Yugoslavs have signed contracts on long-term cooperation with the U.N. so far, and many of them have already qualified for U.N. pensions.

Thai Delegation Arrives in Belgrade

LD240044 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1444 GMT 23 Mar 88

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Mar (TANJUG)—Phichai Rattakun, deputy prime minister of the Kingdom of Thailand, arrived this afternoon in Belgrade heading a Thai delegation at the invitation of the FEC. During a 3-day visit to Yugoslavia, the Thai delegation will have talks on the possibilities of promoting and expanding economic cooperation between the two countries.

Mojsov Congratulates Indonesia's Suharto

BK220941 Jakarta ANTARA in English 0850 GMT 22 Mar 88

[Text] Jakarta, March 22 (OANA-ANTARA)—Lazar Mojsov, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, has sent a message of congratulations to President Suharto on the occasion of his reelection as president of the Republic of Indonesia.

The Yugoslavian Embassy here said Tuesday the Yugoslavian leader also conveyed his best wishes for President Suharto's good health and happiness, and every success in the discharge of his important responsibilities.

In extending his wishes, President Lazar Mojsov renewed Yugoslavia's commitment to work with Indonesia in consolidating further the relations of friendship and mutually beneficial cooperation.

He also expressed his confidence that the values the two countries share within the Movement of Nonaligned Countries will continue to provide an impetus for the common struggle for a safer and wiser world.

Mojsov Sends Message to Tunisian President

AU231158 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 22 Mar 88 p 7

[TANJUG report: "Mojsov Sent Message to Ben Ali"]

[Text] Tunis, 21 Mar—Zine Abidine Ben Ali, president of the Republic of Tunisia, today received Dr Luan Starova, Yugoslav ambassador to Tunisia, who delivered a message from Lazar Mojsov, president of the SFRY Presidency.

On this occasion, President Ben Ali expressed satisfaction with the favorable development of relations between the two friendly countries and the conviction that these relations will develop even further in the future.

MLADINA Rejects Basis of Ban as 'Unfounded'

AU231423 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 21 Mar 88 p 3

[V. S. Report: "Legal Proceeding—Unfounded"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 20 Mar—Following a temporary ban on MLADINA Issue No. 11—a final decision on this will be made by the Ljubljana Basic Court—the Publishing Council and the Editorial Board of this Slovene youth magazine issued statements (published yesterday in DELO) on the ban. In their statements, they rejected the assertions the public prosecutor used to order a temporary ban on the distribution of the magazine.

Regardless of whether or not the Council agrees with it, the editorial, which was the reason for the temporary ban, cannot be a subject of court proceedings. This was stated in the statement by the MLADINA Publishing Council signed by Peter Bekes, president of the Council. "The critics of MLADINA often mention the analysis of the 200 articles about the Yugoslav People's Army. This analysis should be made public because the Council would like to check its views by means of a discussion. The publisher should as soon as possible analyze MLADINA's articles about the Yugoslav People's Army and other newspapers' articles about MLADINA. For this purpose the publisher should set up an independent, expert, and competent body consisting of the members of the editorial board...." These are just some of the other views expressed in the statement made by the MLADINA Publishing Council.

In its statement, the MLADINA Editorial Board claims that the assertions and claims made in the contentious editorial published in Issue No. 11 are completely and wholly true. "The reasons for the temporary ban are therefore different from those stated by the public prosecutor."

This is why we again protest against the ban and similar restrictions on the flow of information as a method of covering up political, economic, social, and historic conflicts in our society. The editorial published in MLADINA No. 11 is only a direct response to the pogrom of MLADINA carried out by political and state organs, and which is being taken over by the Yugoslav media. This is why we demand to be allowed to publish this editorial and other articles contained in Issue No. 11 in full, the editorial board pointed out.

Court Lifts MLADINA Ban

AU231433 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 22 Mar 88 p 7

[V.R. report: "Prosecutor's Proposal for a Ban on MLADINA Is Rejected"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 21 Mar—A three-member court council of the Basic Court of Ljubljana today rejected a proposal by the prosecutor that Issue No. 11 of MLADINA be permanently banned, swept aside the decision on its temporary banning, and decided that the seized newspaper should be returned to the publishers after the decision goes into effect. The court council, chaired by Emil Zakonjsek, was of the opinion that the Slovene youth publication's editorial "On Behalf of the People: to the Defenders of the Revolution" did not, as the public prosecutor had assessed, contain untrue pieces of news and information that could disturb the public, but that it involved appraisals and attitudes of the MLADINA editorial board that are not within the scope of the legal provisions cited by the prosecutor. The prosecutor has the right to appeal against this decision within 3 days.

The court council chairman emphasized that only the legal side of the contentious text would be analyzed, but he commented in his final statement that some of the stances in the editorial represented a violation of the elementary principle of the culture of dialogue.

Pristina Radio Condemns Albanian Separatists

LD231205 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0922 GMT 23 Mar 88

[Text] Pristina, 23 Mar (TANJUG)—It has become a rule that every new step by progressive forces to stabilize the situation, especially to halt the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins or to encourage their return, is met by the most brutal methods of pressure by Albanian separatists, said a commentary broadcast by Pristina Radio in its news bulletin in Albanian last night.

Stressing that this week the papers were again full of gloomy news about Kosovo, the commentator notes that, according to a well-known scenario, the attackers come from the ranks of Albanian separatists and the victims are members of the desperate Serbian and Montenegrin population who, in the light of various physical attacks and beatings, attempted rapes, and destruction of property, have no other choice but to leave their hearth and home. Coupled with the failure by the courts and the justice system to react in a proper way, the situation provides sufficient reasons for fear and hopelessness and drives people to emigrate as the only way out.

Pristina Radio illustrated the claim by citing a number of cases of attacks on Serbs and Montenegrins in the municipalities of Vitina, Pec, and Istok. In conclusion the commentary said: "All the signs are that some judges in Kosovo have interpreted literally calls by the Yugoslav public for more lenient sentences for the younger supporters of the separatist plan. The problem, however, lies in the fact that the instigators are never brought to justice and that leniency toward them devalues the efforts to stabilize the situation in Kosovo."

Seljan Receives Head of Islamic Community

LD222205 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1451 GMT 22

[Text] Pristina, 22 March (TANJUG)—Bajram Seljan, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, today received reis-ul-ulema [head] of the Islamic religious community in the SFRY, Hadzi Husein Mujic, and his colleagues, who informed him on the activities of this community and its relations are good, as well as just and that they should be further advanced.

Bajram Seljani informed the reis-ul-ulema about acivities being carried out by organized socialist forces for the stabilization of the situation in the province.

Seljani pointed to the need for a greater involvement and contribution by the Islamic religious community in the framework of sociopolitical activities for the stabilization of the political and security situation; the strengthening of brotherhood, unity, and togetherness; good intranational relations; and in the condemnation of intranational excesses, hatred, and other phenomena that have a negative effect on the course of the stabilization of the situation in Kosovo.

The reception was also attended by Refik Agaj, president of the commission for relations with religious communities of the executive council of the Kosovo Assembly.

Two Elected to Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency

LD231918 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1214 GMT 23 Mar 88

[Text] Sarajevo, 23 Mar (TANJUG)—Dr Nikola Filipovic and Emina Zaimovic were today elected members of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency by this body.

Because of responsibility in connection with the Agrokomerc affair, Serif Buljubasic was relieved of his duty as member of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Council.

Dr Nikola Filipovic and Emina Zaimovic were elected to fill the places in the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency that became vacant after the resignations of Munir Mesihovic and Ivica Blazevic, in connection with the Agrokomerc affair.

Former Official Urges Veterans' Unity

LD240037 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1250 GMT 23 Mar 88

[Excerpt] Koprivnica, 23 March (TANJUG)—The war veterans of the Tarasice local community in Koprivnica have never asked for the rehabilitation of Pavle Gazi. They only wanted the truth about his case—that is, the reasons for his replacement as republican secretary for internal affairs of Croatia and his expulsion from the LCY.

This was once more pointed out at last night's meeting of this war veterans organization, which includes Pavle Gazi. For the first time since his replacement, Pavle Gazi publicly spoke on this occasion and said that the war veterans were on the right road to arrive at the truth about his case. This is because above all they did not believe false authorities and unsupported facts. He also emphasized that the truth about his entire case would be known very soon. According to him, the fact that he had kept silent so far did not mean that he belonged to those who kept silent, like all other war veterans who behaved this way. On the contrary, Gazi emphasized, we remember everything and one day we shall have to speak up. As citizens and Communists, regardless of whether they carry red books [party cards] or not, veterans must remain united and ready to put an end to all undesirable events happening in our country, Gazi said. [passage omitted]

Slovenian Hospital Workers on Strike

LD231416 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1212 GMT 23 Mar 88

[Text] Koper, 23 Mar (TANJUG)—Over 800 workers of the Dr Franc Derrganc general hospital in Sempeter pri Gorici near Nova Gorica went on a 24-hour strike this morning. The hospital staff decided to go on strike following the management's failure to meet their demands for a 50-percent increase in personal incomes. The protest is also aimed at drawing attention to the difficult situation in the hospital, the bad material position of its employees, and society's prejudiced attitude to workers in the health service.

The main reason behind the strike is low personal incomes. The gross monthly personal income, excluding overtime payments, of the surgical ward administrator amounts to 640,000 dinars, a consultant surgeon receives 550,000, a ward sister 356,000 , and a nurse 310,000 dinars. The personal incomes in the hospital are 50 percent lower than in the economy and 20 percent lower than in other similar institutions in Slovenia.

Dr Herbert Bernhar, the strike committee's publicity officer, said that all emergencies will be dealt with by the hospital staff normally. Patients will be received for check-ups, but only the most serious cases will be allowed to stay. According to Dr Bernhar, all doctors and other medical staff have been instructed as to what to do in emergency situations.

Strike in Croatian Textile Factory Ends

LD222246 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1738 GMT 22 Mar 88

[Text] Zadar, 22 Mar (TANJUG)—In the Boris Kidric textile combine in Zadar this morning a strike that had been going on since last Friday, with more than 1,000 workers participating, came to an end. The factory trade union gained the consent of the majority of workers to systematize the strikers' proposals, which relate to poor organization at the combine, illiquidity, and the overlarge administration in the work community and also in the organizations of associated labor. The workers are seeking a substantial increase in personal incomes that are—according to information we received today in the Zadar municipal trade union council—at present on average, 220,000 dinars.

Only after talks between the trade union leadership and the combine's management, and the sociopolitical leadership of the town, will it be clear which of the workers' demands can be supported and how one of the most difficult problems can be solved, namely the losses of a total of 700 million dinars overall in two organizations of associated labor. It is now almost certain that resolute moves must be made to reduce administration and improve the quality of remuneration for production workers. check names

Briefs

Telephone Exchange for USSR

Sarajevo, 17 Mar (TANJUG)—Energoinvest of Sarajevo has built an automatic digital telephone exchange with 700 terminals, the ET-200, for the USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification. The telephone exchange has an automatic dialing system that facilitates the direct dialing of any number in the world. [Summary] *[AU231743 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 18 Mar 88 p 7]*

Padovan Receives Hungarian Minister

BELGRADE, 21 Mar (TANJUG)—Egon Padovan, member of the FEC and president of the Yugoslav section of the mixed committee for economic cooperation with the Hungarian People's Republic, and Miklos Villanyi, the Hungarian finance minister and president

of the Hungarian section of the mixed committee, discussed topical issues in cooperation between the two countries in the sphere of trade and financial and banking activities. The talks were held with the aim of preparing for the forthcoming meeting of the mixed committee. Particular consideration was also given to the issue of our citizens' obligation to exchange dinars or other currency for forints on entering Hungary. [Text] [*LD230326 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1234 GMT 21 Mar 88*]

Charter of Friendship with PRC

ZAGREB, March 15 (TANJUG)—The Chinese Province of Liaoning and the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia signed here today a charter of friendship, in a wish to contribute to the broadening of overall relations between China and Yugoslavia. In the charter, the two sides say that they will establish broad economic, trade, scientific, technological, cultural, educational, sporting and other cooperation and in accord with the principles of equality and mutual interest. The charter was signed by Croatian Prime Minister Ante Milovic and Deputy Governor of Liaoning Province Wen Shizhen. [Text] [*LD160108 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2110 GMT 15 Mar 88*]

PRC Computer Cooperation

Beijing, 19 Mar—A new computer system for regulating traffic was put into operation in Beijing today. The work on the computer system was carried out by Iskra-Automatika of Ljubljana, the Mihaljo Pupin Institute of Belgrade, the Institute for Safety (bezbednost) of the Federal Institute for Internal Affairs, the Faculties of Traffic (saobracaj) of Belgrade and Sarajevo, and the Belgrade Assembly Committee for Traffic, in collaboration with the Beijing Institute for Traffic and various departments of the Beijing Ministry for Safety (bezbednost). [Summary] [*AU231754 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Mar 88 p 3*]